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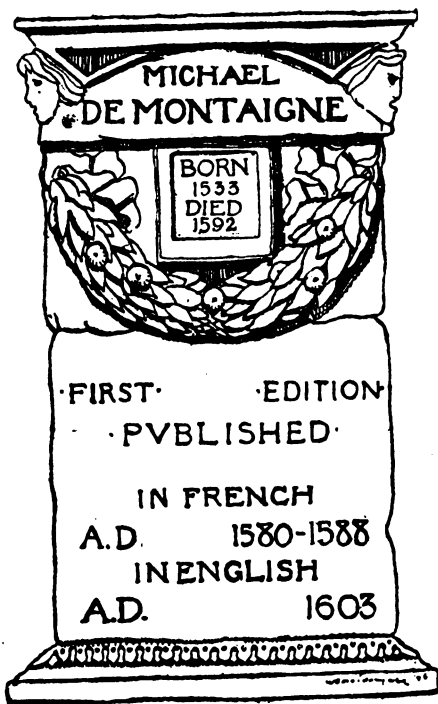
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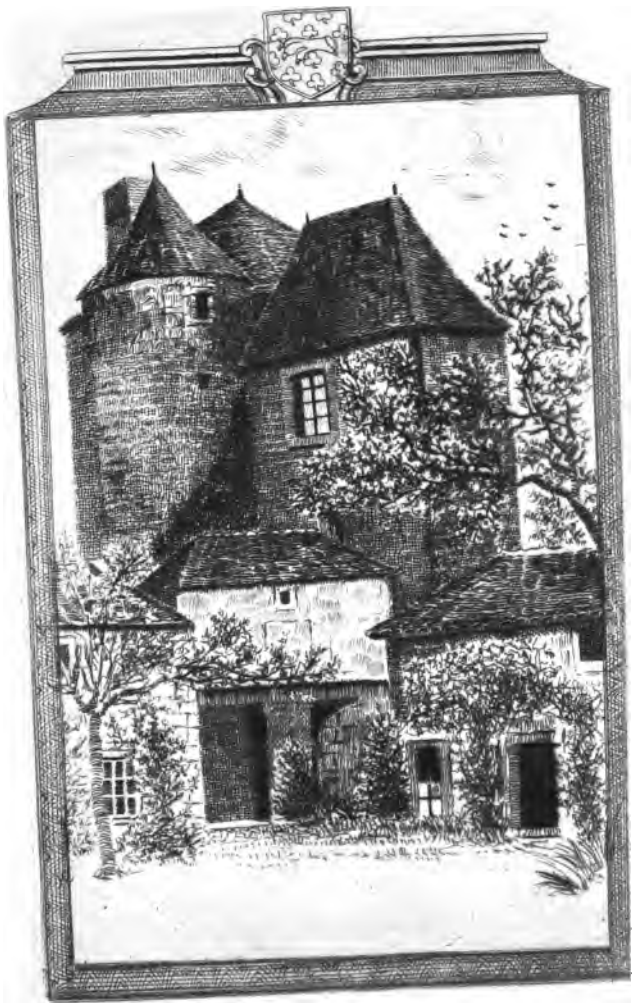


THE TEMPLE CLASSICS



**Edited by
ISRAEL
GOLLANCZ
M.A.**

*The frontispiece is an etching by
Mr. H. CRICKMORE, of the Tower
of Montaigne's Château.*



**The
Second BOOKE
VOLUME I.**

The **ESSAYES**
OF MICHAEL
LORD OF
MONTAIGNE
TRANSLATED
BY JOHN
FLORIO
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VOLUME I

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the Second Booke

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[*The conclusion of the Apologie is contained
in Vol. 4.*]

THE
ESSAYES OF
MICHAEL LORD OF
MONTAIGNE

The second Booke

CHAP. I

Of the inconstancie of our actions

THOSE which exercise themselves in controuling humane actions, finde no such let in any one part, as to peece them together, and bring them to one same lustre: For, they commonly contradict one another so strangely, as it seemeth impossible they should be parcels of one Warehouse. Young *Marius* is sometimes found to be the sonne of *Mars*, and other times the childe of *Venus*. Pope *Boniface* the Eighth, is reported to have entred into his charge, as a Fox; to have carried himselfe therein, as a Lion; and to have died like a dog. And who would thinke it was *Nero*, that lively image of cruelty, who being required to signe (as the custome was) the sentence of a criminall offender,

Nero's
incon-
stancy

Irresolution the commonest vice that had beene condemned to die, that ever he should answer? Oh would to God I could never have written! So neare was his heart grieved to doome a man to death. The world is so full of such examples, that every man may store himselfe; and I wonder to see men of understanding trouble themselves with sorting these parcels: Sithence (me seemeth) irresolution is the most apparant and common vice of our nature; as witnesseth that famous verse of *Publius* the Comœdian:

Malum consilium est, quod mutari non potest. — Pub. Mim.

The counsell is but bad,
Whose change may not be had.

There is some apparence to judge a man by the most common conditions of his life, but seeing the naturall instability of our customes and opinions; I have often thought, that even good Authors, doe ill, and take a wrong course, wilfully to opionate themselves about framing a constant and solide contexture of us. They chuse an universall ayre, and following that image, range and interpret all a mans actions; which if they cannot wrest sufficiently, they remit them unto dissimulation. *Augustus* hath escaped their hands; for there is so apparent, so sudden and continuall a variety of actions found in him; through the course of his life, that even the boldest Judges and strictest censurers, have beene faine to give him over, and leave him undecided. *There is nothing I so hardly beleeeve to be in man, as constancie, and nothing so easie to be*

found in him, as inconstancy. He that should distinctly and part by part, judge of him, should often jumpe to speake truth. View all antiquity over, and you shall finde it a hard matter, to chuse out a dozen of men, that have directed their life unto one certaine, settled, and assured course; which is the surest drift of wisdom. For, to comprehend all in one word, saith an ancient Writer, and to embrace all the rules of our life into one, it is at all times to will, and not to will one same thing. I would not vouchsafe, (saith he) to adde any thing; alwayes provided the will be just: for, if it be unjust, it is impossible it should ever continue one. Verily, I have heretofore learned, that vice is nothing but a disorder, and want of measure, and by consequence, it is impossible to fasten constancy unto it. It is a saying of *Demosthenes*, (as some report,) *That consultation and deliberation, is the beginning of all vertue; and constancie, the end and perfection.* If by reason or discourse we should take a certaine way, we should then take the fairest: but no man hath thought on it.

*Quod petiit, spernit, repetit quod nuper omisit,
Astuat, et vitæ disconvenit ordine toto.*

—HOR. i. *Epist.* i. 98.

He scorns that which he sought, seek's that he
scorn'd of late,
He flowes, ebbes, disagrees in his lifes whole
estate.

Our ordinary manner is to follow the inclination of our appetite, this way and that way; on the left, and on the right hand; upward and

We are borne along as on a stream downe-ward, according as the winde of occasions doth transport us: we never thinke on what we would have, but at the instant we would have it: and change as that beast that takes the colour of the place wherein it is laid. What we even now purposed, we alter by and by, and presently returne to our former biase: all is but changing, motion, and inconstancy:

Ducimur ut nervis alienis mobile lignum.

—HOR. li. Sat. vii. 82.

So are we drawne, as wood is shovd,
By others sinnewes each way moved.

We goe not, but we are carried: as things that float, now gliding gently, now hulling violently; according as the water is, either stormy or calme.

—nōnno videmus

*Quid sibi quisque velit nescire et quærere semper,
Commutare locum quasi onus deponere possit?*

—LUCR. iii. 1100.

See we not, every man in his thoughts height
Knowes not what he would have, yet seekes he
 streight
To change place, as he could lay downe his
 weight?

Every day new toyes, each houre new fantasies, and our humours move and fleet with the fleetings and movings of time.

Tales sunt hominum mentes, quali Pater ipse

Jupiter auctifero lustravit lumine terras.—CIC. *Fragm.*

Such are men's mindes, as that great God of might
Surveyes the earth with encrease bearing light.

We float and waver betweene diuers opinions: A well
ordered
life
we will nothing freely, nothing absolutely, nothing constantly. Had any man prescribed certaine Lawes, or established assured policies in his owne head; in his life should we daily see; to shine an equality of customes, an assured order, and an infallible relation from one thing to another (*Empedocles* noted this deformity to be amongst the *Agrigentines*, that they gave themselves so over unto delights, as if they should die to morrow next, and built as if they should never die) the discourses thereof were easie to be made. As is seene in young *Cato*: He that toucht but one step of it, hath toucht all. It is an harmony of well according tunes and which cannot contradict it selfe. With us it is cleane contrary, so many actions, so many particular judgements are there requir'd. The surer way (in mine opinion) were to refer them unto the next circumstances, without entering into farther search, and without concluding any other consequence of them. During the late tumultuous broiles of our mangled estate, it was told me, that a young woman, not farre from mee, had head-long cast her selfe out of a high window, with intent to kill herselfe, only to avoid the ravishment of a rascaly-base souldier, that lay in her house, who offered to force her; and perceiving that with the fall she had not killed herselfe, to make an end of her enterprize, she would have cut her owne throat with a knife, but that she was hindered by some that came in to her. Neverthelesse having sore wounded her-

Sundry
instances
of

selfe, she voluntarily confessed, that the Souldier had yet but urged her with importunate requests, suing-solicitations; and golden bribes, but she feared he would in the end have obtained his purpose by compulsion: by whose earnest speeches, resolute countenance, and gored blood (a true testimony of her chaste vertue) she might appeare to be the lively patterne of another *Lucrece*, yet know I certainly, that both before that time, and afterward, she had beene enjoyed of others upon easier composition. And as the common saying is; Faire and soft, as squemish-honest as she seemes, although you misse of your intent, conclude not rashly an inviolable chastitie to be in your Mistresse; For, a groome or a horse-keeper may finde an houre to thrive in; and a dog hath a day. *Antigonus* having taken upon him to favour a Souldier of his, by reason of his vertue and valour, commanded his Physitians to have great care of him, and see whether they could recover him of a lingring and inward disease, which had long tormented him, who being perfectly cured, he afterward perceiving him to be nothing so earnest and diligent in his affaires, demanded of him, how he was so changed from himselfe, and become so [cowardish]: your selfe good Sir (answered he) have made me so, by ridding me of those infirmities, which so did grieve me, that I made no accompt of my life. A Souldier of *Lucullus*, having by his enemies beene robbed of all he had, to revenge himselfe undertooke a notable and desperat attempt upon them; and having recovered his

losses, *Lucullus* conceived a very good opinion wayward
 of him, and with the greatest shewes of assured action
 trust and loving kindnesse he could bethinke
 himselfe, made especiall accompt of him; and
 in any dangerous enterprize seemed to trust and
 employ him only :

Verbis quæ timido quoque possent addere mentem :

—*HOR. ii. Epist. II. 34.*

With words, which to a coward might
 Adde courage, had he any spright.

Imploy (said he unto him) some wretch-stripped
 and robbed Souldier

—(*quantumvis rusticus ibit,*

Ibit eò, quo vis, qui zonam perdidit, inquit.)—39.

(None is, saith he, so clownish, but will-on,
 Where you will have him, if his purse be gone)

and absolutely refused to obey him. When we
 reade that *Mahomet*, having outrageously rated
Chasan, chiefe leader of his Janiziers, because he
 saw his troupe wel-nigh defeated by the Hun-
 garians, and hee to behaue himselfe but faintly in
 the fight, *Chasan* without making other reply,
 alone as he was, and without more adoe, with
 his weapon in his hand rushed furiously in the
 thickest throng of his enemies that he first met
 withall, of whom hee was instantly slaine : This
 may haply be deemed, rather a rash conceit,
 than a justification; and a new spight, than a
 naturall prowes. He whom you saw yesterday
 so boldly-venturous, wonder not if you see him
 a dastardly meacocke to morrow next: for either
 anger or necessitie, company or wine, a sodden

Self-
contra-
diction

fury or the clang of a trumpet, might rowze-up his heart, and stir up his courage. It is no heart nor courage so framed by discourse or deliberation: These circumstances have settled the same in him: Therefore it is no marvell if by other contrary circumstance he become a craven and change coppy. This supple variation, and easie yeelding contradiction, which is seene in us, hath made some to imagine, that wee had two soules, and others, two faculties; whereof every one as best she pleaseth, accompanieth and doth agitate us; the one towards good, the other towards evill. Forsomuch as such a rough diversitie cannot wel sort and agree in one simple subject. The blast of accidents doth not only remove me according to his inclination; for besides, I remove and trouble my selfe by the instability of my posture, and whosoever looketh narrowly about himselfe, shall hardly see himselfe twice in one same state. Sometimes I give my soule one visage, and sometimes another, according unto the posture or side I lay her in. If I speake diversly of my selfe, it is because I looke diversly upon my selfe. All contrarieties are found in her, according to some turne or removing; and in some fashion or other. Shamefast, bashfull, insolent, chaste, luxurious, peevish, prating, silent, fond, doting, labourious, nice, delicate, ingenious, slow, dull, froward, humorous, debonaire, wise, ignorant, false in words, true-speaking, both liberall, covetous, and prodigall. All these I perceive in some measure or other to bee in mee, according as I stirre or turne

my selfe ; And whosoever shall heedfully survey and consider himselfe, shall finde this volubility and discordance to be in himselfe, yea and in his very judgement. I have nothing to say entirely, simply, and with soliditie of my selfe, without confusion, disorder, blending, mingling ; and in one word, *Distinguo* is the most universall part of my logike. Although I ever purpose to speake good of good, and rather to interpret those things, that will beare it, unto a good sense ; yet is it that, the strangenesse of our condition admitteth that we are often urged to do well by wice it selfe, if well doing were not judged by the intention only. Therefore may not a couragious act conclude a man to be valiant. He that is so, when just occasion serveth, shall ever be so, and upon all occasions. If it were an habitude of vertue, and not a sudden humour, it would make a man equally resolute at all assayes, in all accidents : Such alone, as in company ; such in a single combat, as in a set battel ; For, whatsoever some say, valour is all alike, and not one in the street or towne, and another in the campe or field. As couragiously should a man beare a sicknesse in his bed, as a hurt in the field and feare death no more at home in his house, than abroad in an assault. We should not then see one same man enter the breach, or charge his enemy with an assured and undoubted fierconesse, and afterward having escaped that, to vexe, to grive and torment himselfe like unto a steely woman, or faint-hearted milke-sop for the losse of a sute, or death of a childe. If one

Judge
well
doing
by the
intention

The case
of Alex-
ander

chance to be carelesly base-minded in his infancie, and constantly-resolute in povertie; if he be timorously-fearefull at sight of a Barbers razor, and afterward stowtly-undismayed against his enemies swords: The action is commendable, but not the man. Divers Græcians (saith *Cicero*) cannot endure to looke their enemy in the face, yet are they most constant in their sicknesses; whereas the *Cimbrians*, and *Celtiberians*, are meere contrary. *Nihil enim potest esse equabile, quod non à certa ratione proficiscatur* (*Cic. Tusc. Qu. ii. f.*): For nothing can beare it selfe even, which proceedeth not from resolved reason. There is no valor more extreme in his kinde, than that of *Alexander*; yet it is but in species, nor every where sufficiently full and universall. As incomparable as it is, it hath his blemishes, which is the reason that in the idlest suspitions, he apprehendeth at the conspiracies of his followers against his life, we see him so earnestly to vex, and so desperately to trouble himselfe: In search and pursuit whereof he demeaneth himselfe with so vehement and indiscreet an injustice, and with such a demisse feare, that even his naturall reason is thereby subverted. Also the superstition, wherewith he is so thoroughly tainted, beareth some shew of pusillanimitie. And the unlimited excesse of the repentance he shewed for the murder of *Clitus*, is also a witnesse of the inequalitye of his courage. Our matters are but parcels hudled up, and peeces patched together, and we endeavour to acquire honour by false meanes, and untrue tokens. *Virtue will not bee*

followed, but by her selfe : And if at any time wee borrow her maske, upon some other occasion, she will as soone pull it from our face. It is a lively hew, and strong die, if the soule be once dyed with the same perfectly, and which will never fade or be gone, except it carry the skin away with it. Therefore to judge a man, we must a long time follow, and very curiously marke his steps ; whether constancie doe wholly subsist and continue upon her owne foundation in him, *Cui vivendi via considerata atque provisā est (Cic. Parad. v.) : Who hath forecast and considered the way of life ;* whether the variety of occurrences make him change his pace (I meane his way, for his pace may either be hastened or slowd) let him run-on : such a one (as sayeth the imprease of our good Talbot) goeth before the wind. It is no marvell (saith an old writer) that hazard hath such power over us, since wee live by hazard. It is impossible for him to dispose of his particular actions, that hath not ingrose directed his life unto one certaine end. It is impossible for him to range all peeces in order, that hath not a plot or forme of the totall frame in his head. What avayleth the provision of all sorts of colours unto one that knowes not what he is to draw ? No man makes any certaine designe of his life, and we deliberate of it but by parcels. A skilfull archer ought first to know the marke he aimeth at, and then apply his hand, his bow, his string, his arrow and his motion accordingly. Our counsels goe a stray, because they are not rightly addressed, and have

The aim
of life
should be
known

We are all framed of flaps and patches' no fixed end. *No winde makes for him, that hath no intended port to saile unto.* As for me, I allow not greatly of that judgement, which some made of *Sophocles*, and to have concluded him sufficient in the managing of domesticall matters, against the accusation of his owne Sonne, only by the sight of one of his tragedies. Nor doe I commend the conjecture of the *Parlians*, sent to reforme the *Milosians*, as sufficient to the consequence they drew thence. In visiting and surveying the Ile, they marked the Landes that were best husbanded, and observed the country houses that were best governed. And having registred the names of their owners; and afterward made an assembly of the Townes-men of the Citie, they named and instituted those owners as new Governours and Magistrates, judging and concluding, that being good husbands and carefull of their household affaires, they must consequently be so of publike matters. We are all framed of flaps and patches and of so shapelesse and diverse a contexture, that every peece and every moment playeth his part. And there is as much difference found betweene us and our selves, as there is betweene our selves and other. *Magnam rem puta, unum hominem agere. Esteeme it a great matter, to play but one man.*

Since ambition may teach men both valour, temperance, liberality, yea and justice: Sith covetousnesse may settle in the minde of a Shop-prentise-boy, brought up in ease and idlenesse, a dreadlesse assurance to leave his home-bred ease, and forgoe his place of education, and in a

small barke to yeeld himselfe unto the mercy of
 blustering waves, mercilesse windes and wrathfull
Neptune ; and that it also teacheth discretion and
 wisdom ; And that *Venus* her selfe ministreth
 resolution and hardinesse unto tender youth as
 yet subject to the discipline of the rod, and
 teacheth the ruthlesse Souldier, the soft and
 tenderly effeminate heart of women in their
 mothers laps.

It is not
 safe to
 judge
 by the
 outside

*Hac duce custodes furtim transgressa jacentes,
 —Ad juvenem tenebris sola puella venit.*

—TIB. ii, *El.* l. 78.

The wench by stealeth her lodg'd guards having
 stript,
 By this guide, sole, i' th darke, to' th yonker skipt.

*It is no part of a well grounded judgement,
 simply to judge our selves by our exteriour actions :*
 A man must thorowly sound himselfe, and dive
 into his heart, and there see by what wards or
 springs the motions stirre. But forasmuch as it
 is a hazardous and high enterprise, I would not
 have so many to meddle with it as doe.

CHAP. II

Of Drunkennesse

THE world is nothing but variety, and dissem-
blance. Vices are all alike, inasmuch as
they are all vices : And so doe haply the Stoikes
 meane it. But though they are equally vices,

Diversity they are not equall vices; And that hee who
in sins hath started a hundred steps beyond the limits

Quos ultra citraque nequit consistere rectum,

—HOR. i. Sat. i. 107.

On this side, or beyond the which
 No man can hold a right true pitch,

is not of worse condition, than he that is ten
 steps short of it, is no whit credible: and that
 sacriledge is not worse than the stealing of a
 Colewort out of a Garden.

Nec vincet ratio, tantundem ut peccet idemque,

Qui tentos caules alieni frögerit horti,

Et qui nocturnus divum sacra legerit.

—Sat. ili. 115.

No reason can evict, as great or same sinne taints
 Him that breakes in anothers Garden tender plants,
 And him that steales by night things consecrate to
 Saints.

There is as much diversity in that as in any
 other thing. The confusion of order and measure
 of crimes, is dangerous: Murderers, Traitors
 and Tyrants, have too much gaine by it: it is
 no reason their conscience should be eased, in
 that some is either idle or lascivious, or lesse
 assiduous unto devotion. Every man poiseth
 upon his fellowes sinne, and elevates his owne.
 Even teachers doe often range it ill in my con-
 ceit. As *Socrates* said, that the chiefest office
 of wisdom, was to distinguish goods and evils.
 We others, to whom the best is ever in vice,
 should say the like of knowledge, to distinguish
 vices: Without which, and that very exact,

both vertuous and wicked men remaine confounded and unknowen. Now drunkennesse amongst others, appeareth to mee a grose and brutish vice. The minde hath more part else where; and some vices there are, which (if it may lawfully be spoken) have a kinde of I wot not what generosity in them. Some there are, that have learning, diligence, valour, prudence, wit, cunning, dexterity, and subtilty joyned with them; whereas this is meerely corporall, and terrestriall. And the grosest and rudest nation, that liveth amongst us at this day, is onely that which keepeth it in credit. Other vices but alter and distract the understanding, whereas this utterly subverteth the same, and astonieth the body.

**Drunken-
ness a
brutish
vice**

—*cum vini vis penetravit,
Consequitur gravitas membrorum, præpediuntur
Crura vacillanti, tardescit lingua, madet mens,
Nant oculi, clamor, singultus, jurgia gliscunt.*

—LUCR. iii. 479.

When once the force of wine hath inly pierst,
Limbes-heaviness is next, legs faine would goe,
But reeling cannot, tongue drawles, mindes disperst,
Eyes swimme, cries, hickups, brables grow.

The worst estate of man, is where he loseth the knowledge and government of himselfe. And amongst other things, it is said, that as must wine boyling and working in a vessell, workes and sends upward what ever it containeth in the bottome, so doth wine cause those that drinke excessively of it, worke up, and breake out their most concealed secrets.

VOL. III.

B

Various
effects—*tu sapientium**Guras, et arcanum jocoso**Consilium retegis Lyæo.*—HOR. iii. Od. xxi. 14.

Thou (wine-cup) doest by wine reveale
The cares, which wise men would conceale,
And close drifts, at a merry meale.

Josephus reporteth, that by making an Ambassador to tipples-square, whom his enemies had sent unto him, he wrested all his secrets out of him. Neverthelesse *Augustus* having trusted *Lucius Piso*, that conquered *Thrace*, with the secretest affaires he had in hand, had never cause to be discontented with him; Nor *Tiberius* with *Cossus*, to whom he imparted all his seriousest counsels, although we know them both to have so given themselves to drinking of wine, that they were often faine to be carried from the Senat, and both were reputed notable drunkards.

—*Hesterno inflatum venas de more Lyæo.*

—VIR. Buc. Ec. vi. 15.

Velnes pufft up, as is used alway,
By wine which was drunke yesterday.

And as faithfully as the complot and purpose to kill *Cæsar* committed unto *Cimber*, who would daily be drunke with quaffing of wine, as unto *Cassius*, that drunke nothing but water, whereupon he answered very pleasantly, *What? shall I beare a Tyrant, that am not able to beare wine?* We see our carowsing tospot German souldiers, when they are most plunged in their cups, and as drunke as Rats, to have perfect remem-

brance of their quarter, of the watch word, and of wine of their files.

—*nec facilis victoria de madidis, et
Blasis, atque mero titubantibus.*—JUV. Sat. xv. 47.

Nor is the conquest easie of men sow'st,
Lisping and reeling with wine they carow'st.

I would never have beleev'd so sound, so deepe and so excessive drunkennesse, had I not read in Histories, that *Attalus* having envited to sup with him (with intent to doe him some notable indignity) the same *Pausanias*, who for the same cause killed afterward *Philip* King of *Macedon*, (a King who by the eminent faire qualities that were in him, bore a testimonie of the education he had learned in the house and company of *Epaminondas*) made him so dead-drunke, that insensibly and without feeling, he might prostitute his beauty as the body of a common hedge-harlot, to Mulettiers, Groomes, and many of the abject servants of his house. And what a Lady (whom I much honour and highly esteeme) told mee, protesting, that neere *Burdeaux*, towards *Castres*, where her house is, a widdow Country-woman, reputed very chaste and honest, suspecting herselfe to be with childe, told her neighbours, that had she a husband, she should verily thinke she were with childe. But the occasion of this suspition encreasing more and more, and perceiving herselfe so big-bellied, that shee could no longer conceale it, she resolved to make the Parish-priest acquainted with it, whom she entreated to publish in the

Stoic Church, that whosoever hee were, that was
drinkers guilty of the fact, and would avow it, shee
 would freely forgive him, and if hee were so
 pleased, take him to her husband. A certaine
 swaine or hyne-boy of hers, emboldned by this
 proclamation, declared, how that having one
 holliday found her well-tipped with wine, and
 so sound asleepe by the chimnie side, lying so fit
 and ready for him, that without a waking her he
 had the full use of her body. Whom she ac-
 cepted for her husband, and both live together at
 this day. It is assured that antiquitie hath not
 greatly described this vice. The compositions
 of diverse Philosophers speake but sparingly of
 it. Yea, and some of the Stoikes deeme it
 not amisse for man sometimes to take his liquor
 roundly, and drinke drunke thereby to recreate
 his spirits.

*Hoc quoque virtutum quondam certamine magnum
 Socratem palmam promeruisse ferunt.*

—COR. Gal. El. i.

They say, in this too, *Socrates the wise*,
 And great in vertues combats, bare the prize.

Cato that strict censurer, and severe corrector of
 others, hath beene reproved for much drinking,

*Narratur et prisci Catonis
 Sæpe mero caluisse virtus.*

—HOR. iii. Od. xxi. 11.

T'is said, by use of wine repeated,
 Old *Catoes* vertue oft was heated.

Cyrus that so far-renowned King, amongst his

other commendations, meaning to preferre himselfe before his brother *Artaxerxes*, and get the start of him, aleageth, that he could drinke better, and tipples more than he. And amongst the best policed and formalest nations, the custome of drinking, and pledging of healths was much in use. I have heard *Silvius*, that excellent Physician of *Paris* affirme that to preserve the vigor of our stomake from empairing, it is not amisse once a moneth to rowze up the same by this excesse of drinking; and lest it should grow dull and stupid therby to stirre it up. And it is written, that the *Persians*, after they had well tippled, were wont to consult of their chiefest affaires. My taste, my rellish and my complexion, are sharper enemies unto this vice, than my discourse: For, besides that I captivate more easily my conceits under the auctoritie of ancient opinions, indeed I finde it to be a fond, a stupid and a base kinde of vice, but lesse malicious and hurtfull than others; all which shooke, and with a sharper edge wound publike societie. And if we cannot give our selves any pleasure, except (as they say) it cost us something; I finde this vice to be lesse chargeable unto our conaciencie than others; besides, it is not hard to be prepared, difficult to be found; a consideration not to be despised. A man well advanced in yeares and dignitie, amongst three principall commodities he told me to have remaining in life, counted this: and where shall a man more rightly finde-it, than amongst the naturall? But he tooke it ill, delicatenesse, and the choice of

**Men-
taine
no lover
of wine**

German drinkers wines is therein to be avoided. If you prepare your voluptuousnes to drinke it with pleasure and daintily neat, you tie your selfe unto an inconvenience to drinke it other than is alwayes to be had. A man must have a milder, a loose and freer taste. To be a true drinker, a man should not have so tender and squeamish a palat. The Germans doe in a manner drinke equally of all sorts of wine with like pleasure. Their end is rather to gulpe it downe freely, than to tast it kindly. And to say truth they have it better cheape. Their voluptuousnesse is more plenteous and fuller. Secondly, to drinke after the French manner, as two draughts and moderately, is over much to restraîne the favours of that God. There is more time and constancie required thereunto. Our forefathers were wont to spend whole nights in that exercise, yea often times they joyned whole long dayes unto them. And a man must proportion his ordinarie more large and firme. I have in my dayes seene a principall Lord; a man of great employment and enterprises, and famous for good successe, who without straining himselfe, and eating but an ordinary meales-meat, was wont to drinke little lesse than five pottles of wine, yet at his rising seemed to be nothing distempered, but rather as we have found to our no small cost in managing of our affaires, over-wise and considerate. The pleasure of that, whereof we would make account in the course of our life ought to be employed longer space. It were necessary, as shop-boyes or labouring people, that we should refuse no occasion to drinke and

continually to have this desire in our minde. It seemeth that wee daily shorten the use of this: and that in our houses, (as I have seene in mine infancie) breakefasts, nunchions, and beavers should be more frequent and often used, than now adayes they are. And should wee thereby in any sort proceed towards amendment? No verily. But it may be, that we have much more given our selves over unto paillardise and all manner of luxurie than our fathers were. They are two occupations, that enter-hinder one another, in their vigor. On the one side, it hath empai red and weakned our stomacke, and on the other, sobrietic serveth to make us more jolly-quaint, lusty, and wanton for the exercise of love matters. It is a wonder to thinke on the strange tales I have heard my father report, of the chastitie of his times. He might well speake of it, as he that was both by art and nature proper for the use and solace of Ladies. He spake little and well, few words, but to the purpose, and was ever wont to entermixe some ornament taken from vulgar bookes, and above all, Spanish, amongst his common speeches: And of all Spanish Authors, none was more familiar unto him than *Marcus Aurelius*. His demeanour and carriage was ever milde, meeke, gentle, and very modest, and above all, grave and stately. There is nothing he seemed to be more carefull of, than of his honesty, and observe a kinde of decencie of his person, and orderly decorum in his habits, were it on foot or on horsebacke. He was exceeding nice in performing his word or promise; And so strictly

Char-
acter of
Mon-
taine's
father

Agility of
Montaigne's
father

conscientious and obsequious in religion, that generally he seemed rather to incline toward superstition, than the contrary. Though he were but a little man, his courage and vigor was great: he was of an upright, and well proportioned stature, of a pleasing, cheerefull-looking countenance, of a swarthy hue, nimbly addicted, and exquisitely nimble unto all noble and gentleman-like exercises. I have seene some hollow staves of his filled with lead, which hee wont to use and exercise his armes withall, the better to enable himselfe to pitch the barre, to throw the sledge, to cast the pole and to play at fence: and shooes with leaden soles, which he wore to enure himselfe, to leape, to vault and to run. I may without blushing say, that in memory of himselfe, he hath left certaine petie miracles amongest us. I have seene him when hee was past threescore yeares of age mocke at all our sports, and outcountenance our youthfull pastimes, with a heavy furr'd Gowpe about him to leap into his saddle; to make the pommada round about a Table upon his thumb; and seldome to ascend any staires without skipping three or foure steps at once. And concerning my discourse, hee was wont to say, that in a whole Province there was scarce any woman of qualitie, that had an ill name. Hee would often report strange familiarities, namely of his owne, with very honest women, without any suspicion at all. And protested very religiously, that when he was married, he was yet a pure Virgine; yet had he long time followed the warres beyond the Mountaines, and

therein served long, whereof hee hath left a Journall-Booke of his owne collecting, wherein hee hath particularly noted, whatsoever happened day by day worthy the observation, so long as he served, both for the publike and his particular use. And he was well stricken in yeares, when he tooke a wife. For returning out of *Italie*, in the yeare of our Lord, one thousand five hundred eight and twenty, and being full three and thirty yeares old, by the way hee chose himselfe a wife. But come we to our drinking againe. The incommodities of age, which need some helpe and refreshing, might with some reason beget in me a desire or longing of this faculty: for, it is in a man the last pleasure, which the course of our yeares stealeth upon us. Good fellowes say, that naturall heat is first taken in our feet: That properly belongeth to infancie. From thence it ascendeth unto the middle region, where it is settled and continueth a long time; and in mine opinion, there produceth the only true, and moving pleasures of this corporall life. Other delight and sensualities in respect of that, doe but sleepe, In the end, like unto a vapour, which by little and little exhalet, and mounteth aloft, it comes unto the throat, and there makes her last bode. Yet could I never conceive, how any man may either encrease or prolong the pleasure of drinking beyond thirst, and in his imagination frame an artificial appetite, and against nature. My stomacke could not well reach so farre: it is very much troubled to come to an end of that which it takes

The three
heats of
passion

Drink
regula-
tions of
Plato

for his need. My constitution is, to make an accompt of drinking, but to succeed meat, and therefore doe I ever make my last draught the greatest. And forasmuch as in age, we have the rooffe of our mouthes commonly furred with rhume, or distempered, distasted and altered through some other evill constitution, wine seemeth better unto us and of a quicker relish, according as our pores be either more or lesse open and washed. At least I seldome relish the same very well, except it be the first draught I take. *Anacharsis* wondered to see the Græcians drinke in greater glasses at the end of their meales, than in the beginning. It was (as I imagine) for the very same reason, that the Germans doe it, who never begin to carouse, but when they have well fed. *Plato* forbiddeth children to drinke any wine, before they be eightene yeeres of age, and to be drunke before they come to forty. But to such as have once attained the age of fortie, he is content to pardon them, if they chance to delight themselves with it, and alloweth them somewhat largely to blend the influence of *Dionysius* in their banquets, that good God, who bestoweth cheerfulness upon men, and youth unto aged men, who layeth and aswageth the passions of the minde, even as yron is made flexible by the fire: and in his profitable lawes drinking-meetings or quaffing companies as necessary and commendable (alwaies provided there be a chiefe leader amongst them to containe and order them) drunkennesse being a good and certaine tryall of everie mans

nature; and therewithall proper to give aged men the courage to make merry in dancing and in musicke; things allowable and profitable, and such as they dare not undertake being sober and settled. That wine is capable to supply the mind with temperance, and the bodie with health. Notwithstanding, these restrictions, partly borrowed of the Carthaginians, please him well. Let those forbear it that are going about any expedition of warre. Let every magistrate, and all judges abstain from it at what time they are to execute their charge, and to consult of publicke affaires. Let none bestow the day in drinking, as the time that is due unto more serious negotiations, nor the nights wherein a man intendeth to get children. It is reported, that *Stilpo* the Philosopher, finding himselfe surcharged with age, did purposely hasten his end, by drinking of pure wine. The like cause (though not wittingly) did also suffocate the vital forces, crazed through old age of the Philosopher *Arcesilaus*. But it is an old and pleasant question, whether a wisemans mind were like to yeeld unto the force of wine.

When to
abstain
from
wine

Si mugita adhibet vim sapientia.

—*Od.* xxviii. 4.

If unresisted force it bends,
Gainst wisdom which it selfe defends.

Unto what vanity doth the good opinion we have of our selves provoke us? The most temperate and perfectest minde of the world, findes it too great a taske to keep herselfe upright, lest

What is she fall by her owne weaknesse. Of a thou-
 more frail sand there is not one perfectly righteous and
 and vain settled but one instapt of her life, and ques-
 than tion might be made, whether according to her
 man? naturall condition she might at any time be so.
 But to joyne constancie unto it [is] her last per-
 fection: I meane if nothing should shocke her:
 which a thousand accidents may doe. *Lucretius*
 that famous Poet, may Philosophie and bandie
 at his pleasure: Loe where he lieth senselesse of
 an amorous potion. Thinkes any man, that an
 Apoplexie cannot as soone astonish *Socrates*, as
 a poore labouring man? Some of them have
 by the force of a sicknesse forgot their owne
 names, and a slight hurt have overthrowne the
 judgement of others. Let him be as wise as he
 can, in the end he is but a man; what is more
 fraile, more miserable, or more vaine? Wis-
 dome forceth not our naturall conditions.

*Sudores itaque, et pallorem existere toto
 Corpore, et infringi linguam vocemque aboriri
 Caligare oculos, sonare aures, succidere artus,
 Denique concidere ex animi terrore videmus.*

—LUCR. iii. 155.

We see therefore, palenesse and sweats ore-grow,
 Our bodies, tongues doe falter, voyce doth breake,
 Eyes dazle, eares buzze, joints doe shrinke below,
 Lastly we swoune by hart-fright, terrours weake.

He must [s]eele his eyes against the blow that
 threatneth him, being neere the brimme of a perci-
 pise, he must cry out like a child. Nature having
 purposed to reserve these light markes of her
 authoritie unto herselfe, inexpugnable unto our

reason, and to the Stoicke vertue: to teach him his mortalitie, and our insipiditie. He waxeth pale for feare, he blusheth for shame, he groaneth feeling the cholike, if not with a desperate and lowd-roaring voyce, yet with a low, smothered and hoarse-sounding noyse.

*Humani
nihil a me
alienum
puto*

Humani à se nihil alienum putat.

—TER. *Heaut.* act. i. sce. i. 25.

He thinkes, that nothing strange be can,
To him, that longs to any man.

Giddie-headed Poets, that faine what they list, dare not so much as discharge their *Heroes* from teares.

Sic fatur lachrymans, classique immitit habenas.

—VIRG. *Æn.* vi. 1.

So said he weeping, and so saide,
Himselfe hand to the sterage laide.

Let it suffice him to bridle his affections, and moderate his inclinations; for, it is not in him to beare them away. *Plutarke* himselfe, who is so perfect and excellent a judge of humane actions, seeing *Brutus* and *Torquatus* to kill their owne children, remaineth doubtfull, whether vertue could reach so farre, and whether such men were not rather moved by some other passion. *All actions beyond the ordinarie limits; are subject to some sinister interpretation:* Forasmuch as our taste doth no more come unto that which is above it, than to that which is under it. Let us omit that other sect, which maketh open profession of fiercenes. But when in the very same

Power of mind over body sect, which is esteemed the most demisse, we heare the bragges of *Metrodorus*: *Occupavite, Fortuna, atque cepi: omnesque aditus tuos interclusi ut ad me aspirare non posses* (Metr. Cic. Tusc. Quest. 5). Fortune, I have prevented, caught, and overtaken thee: I have mured and ramd up all thy passagis, whereby thou mightest attaine unto mee. When *Anaxarcus*, by the appointment of *Nicocreon*, the tyrant of *Cipres*, being laid along in a trough of stone, and smoten with yron sledges, ceaseth not to crie out, streeke, smite, and breake; it is not *Anaxarcus*, it is but his vaile you martyr so. When we heare our martyrs, in the middest of a flame crie aloude unto the Tyrant, this side is rosted enough, chop it, eat it, it is full rosted, now begin on the other. When in *Josephus* wee heare a childe all to rent with biting snippers, and pierced with the breath of *Antiochus*, to defie him to death, crie with a lowde-assured and undismaid voyce; Tyrant thou locest time, loe I am still at mine ease; where is that smarting paine, where are those torments, wherewith whilom thou didst so threaten me? My constancie doth more trouble thee, than I have feeling of thy crueltie: Oh faint hearted varlet, doest thou yeeld when I gather strength? Make mee to faint or shrink, cause me to moane or lament, force me to yeeld and sue for grace if thou canst; encourage thy satellities, harden thy executioners; loe how they droope and have no more power; arme them, strengthen them, flesh them. Verely wee must needs confesse there

is some alteration, and some furie (how holy soever) in those mindes. When we come unto these Stoick evasions; I had rather be furious than voluptuous: the saying of *Antisthenes*. *Μαλὺλλον ἢ ἡσθείην* (*Antist. DIOGEN. LAERT. vi. c. 1*), *Rather would I be mad, than merry*. When *Sextius* telleth us, he had rather be surprised with paine, than sensuality; when *Epicurus* undertakes to have the goute, to wantonize and faune upon him, and refusing ease and health, with a hearty cheerefulnesse defie all evils, and scornefully despising lesse sharpe griefes, disdayning to grapple with them, he blithely desireth and calleth for sharper, more forcible, and worthy of him:

Un-
wonted
courage

*Spumantemque dari pecora inter inertia votis
Optat aprum aut fulvum descendere monte leonem:*
—VIRG. *Æn.* iv. 358.

He wisht, mongst hartlesse beasts some foming
Bore,
Or mountaine-Lyon would come downe and rore,

Who would not judge them to be pranks of a courage removed from his wonted seate? Our minde cannot out of her place attaine so high. She must quit it and raise her selfe aloft, and taking the bridle in her teeth, carry and transport her man so farre, that afterward hee wonder at himselfe, and rest amazed at his actions. As in exploits of warre, the heat and earnestnesse of the fight doth often provoke the noble minded souldiers, to adventure on so dangerous passages, that afterward being better advised, they are the first to wonder at it. As also Poets, are often

No one is surprised and rapt with admiration at their owne
exempt labours, and forget the trace, by which they past
from folly so happy a career. It is that, which some terme
 a fury or madnesse in them. And as *Plato* saith,
 that a settled and reposed man, doth in vaine
 knocke at Poesies gate. *Aristotle* likewise saith,
 that no excellent minde is freely exempted from
 some or other entermixture of folly. And he
 hath reason, to call any starting or extraordinarie
 conceit (how commendable soever) and
 which exceedeth our judgement and discourse,
 folly. Forsomuch as *wisdomē, is an orderly and
 regular managing of the minde, and which she
 addresseth with measure, and conducteth with pro-
 portion* ; And take her owne word for it. *Plato*
 disputeth thus ; that the facultie of prophesying
 and divination is far above us, and that when
 wee treat it, we must be besides our selves : our
 wisdomē must be darkened and over shadowed
 by sleepe, by sicknesse, or by drowzinesse ;
 or by some celestiall fury, ravished from her
 owne seat.

CHAP. III

A custome of the Ile of Cea

IF, as some say, to philosophate be to doubt ;
 with much more reason, to rave and fan-
 tastiquize, as I doe, must necessarily be to
 doubt : For, to enquire and debate, belongeth to

a scholler, and to resolve appertaines to a cathedrall master. But know, my cathedrall; it is the authoritie of Gods divine will, that without any contradiction doth sway us, and hath her ranke beyond these humane and vaine contestations. *Philip* being with an armed hand entred the Countrie of *Peloponnesus*, some one told *Damidas*, the Lacedemonians were like to endure much, if they sought not to reobtaine his lost favour. Oh varlet as thou art (answered he.) And what can they suffer, who have no feare at all of death? *Agis* being demanded, how a man might do to live free; answered; *Despising and contemning to die*. These and a thousand like propositions, which concur in this purpose, do evidently inferre some thing beyond the patient expecting of death it selfe, to be suffered in this life: witnesse the Lacedemonian child, taken by *Antigonus*, and sold for a slave, who urged by his master, to performe some abject service; Thou shalt see (said he) whom thou hast bought; for, it were a shame for me to serve, having libertie so neere at hand, and therewithall threw himselfe headlong downe from the top of the house. *Antipator*, sharply threatening the Lacedemonians, to make them yeeld to a certaine request of his; they answered, shouldest thou menace us worse than death, we will rather die. And to *Philip*, who having written unto them, that he would hinder all their enterprises; What? (say they) wilt thou also hinder us from dying? That is the reason, why some say, that the wiseman liveth as long

The
liberty of
death

'Death is as he ought, and not so long as he can. And
 a remedy that the favourablest gift, nature hath bequeathed
 us, and which removeth all meanes from us to
 complaine of our condition, is, that she hath left
 us the key of the fields. She hath appointed
 but one entrance unto life, but many a thousand
 wayes out of it: *Well may we want ground to
 live upon, but never ground to die in.* As Boio-
 satus answered the Romanes. Why dost thou
 complaine against this world? It doth not con-
 taine thee: If thou livest in paine and sorrow,
 thy base courage is the cause of it, To die there
 wanteth but will.

Ubique mors est: optimè hoc cavè Deus,

Eripere vitam nemo non homini potest:

At nemo mortem: mille ad hanc aditus patent.

—SEN. *Theb.* act. 1. sce. 1.

Each where death is: God did this well purvay,
 No man but can from man life take away,
 But none barr's death, to it lies many 'a way.

And it is not a receipt to one malady alone;
Death is a remedy against all evils: It is a most
 assured haven, never to be feared, and often to
 be sought; All comes to one period, whether
 man make an end of himselfe, or whether he
 endure it; whether he run before his day, or
 whether he expect it: whence soever it come,
 it is ever his owne, where ever the threed be
 broken, it is all there, it's the end of the web.
 The voluntariest death, is the fairest. *Life de-
 pendeth on the will of others, death on ours.* In
 nothing should we so much accommodate our

selves to our humors, as in that. Reputation ^{against} doth nothing concerne such an enterprise; it is all evils. folly to have any respect unto it. *To live is to serve, if the libertie to dye be wanting.* The common course of curing any infirmitie, is ever directed at the charge of life: we have incisions made into us, we are cauterized, we have limbes cut and mangled, we are let blood, we are dieted. Goe we but one step further, we need no more physicke, we are perfectly whole. Why is not our jugular or throat-veine as much at our command as the mediane? To extreme sicknesses, extreme remedies. *Servius* the Grammarian being troubled with the gowt, found no better meanes to be rid of it, than to apply poison to mortifie his legs. He cared not whether they were *Podagrees* or no, so they were insensible. God giveth us sufficient privilege, when he placeth us in such an estate, as life is worse than death unto us. *It is weaknesse to yeeld to evils, but folly to foster them.* The Stoikes say, it is a convenient naturall life, for a wise man, to forgoe life; although he abound in all happinesse; if he doe it opportunely: And for a foole to prolong his life, albeit he be most miserable, provided he be in most part of things, which they say to be according unto nature. As I offend not the lawes made against theeves, when I cut mine owne purse, and carry away mine owne goods; nor of destroyers when I burne mine owne wood: so am I nothing tied unto lawes made against murderers, if I deprive my selfe of mine owne life. *Hegesias* was wont to say, that even

Our lives as the condition of life, so should the qualitie
 are in of death depend on our election. And *Diogenes*
 God's meeting with the Philosopher *Speusippus*, long
 hands time afflicted with the dropsie, and therefore
 carried in a litter, who cried out unto him;
 All haile *Diogenes*: And to thee no health at
 all, (replied *Diogenes*) that endurest to live in
 so wretched an estate. True it is, that a while
 after, *Speusippus* as overtired with so languishing
 a condition of life, compassed his owne death.
 But this goeth not without some contradiction:
 For, many are of opinion, that without the ex-
 presse commandement of him, that hath placed us
 in this world, we may by no meanes forsake the
 garrison of it, and that it is in the hands of God
 only, who therein hath placed us, not for our
 selves alone, but for his glory, and others service,
 when ever it shall please him to discharge us
 hence, and not for us to take leave: *That we*
are not borne for our selves, but for our Countrie:
 The Lawes for their owne interest require an
 accompt at our hands for our selves, and have
 a just action of murder against us. Else as for-
 sakers of our owne charge, we are punished in
 the other world.

*Proxima deinde tenent vasti loca, qui sibi lethum
 Inmontes peperere manu, lucumque porosi
 Projecere animas.*—VIRG. *Æn.* vi. 434.

Next place they lamentable hold in hell,
 Whose hand their death caus'd causelesse, (but not
 well)
 And hating life did thence their soules expell.

There is more constancie in using the chaine

that holds us, than in breaking the same; and more triall of stedfastnesse in *Regulus*, than in *Gato*. It is indiscretion and impatience that hastneth our way. *No accidents can force a man to turne his backe from lively vertue*: She seeketh out evils and sorrowes as her nourishment. The threats of fell tyrants, tortures, and torments; executioners and torturers, doe animate and quicken her.

Virtue
quick-
eneth by
sorrow

*Duris ut illex tansa bipennibus
Nigra feraci frondis in Alcido
Per damna, per cedes, ab ipso
Ducit opes animamque ferro.*—HOR. iv. Od. iv. 57.

As holme-tree doth with hard axe lopt.
On hills with many holme-trees topt,
From losse, from cuttings it doth feele,
Courage and store rise ev'n from steele.

And as the other saith.

*Non est ut putas virtus, pater,
Timere vitam, sed magis ingentibus
Obstare, nec se vertere ac retro dare.*

—SEN. *Theb.* act. i. sce. 1.

Sir, ti's not vertue, as you understand,
To feare life, but grosse mischiefe to withstand,
Not to retire, turne backe, at any hand.

*Rebus in adversis facile est contemnere mortem.
Fortius ille facit, qui miser esse potest.*

—MART. xi. *Epi.* lvi. 15.

'Tis easie in crosse chance death to despise:
He that can wretched be, doth stronger rise.

It is the part of cowardlinesse, and not of vertue, to seek to squat it selfe in some hollow-lurking hole, or to hide her selfe under some

Folly of the fear of death massie tombe, thereby to shun the strokes of fortune. She never forsakes her course, nor leaves her way, what stormie weather soever crosse-her.

*Si fractus illabatur orbis,
Impavidam ferient ruinae.*—HOR. iii. Od. iii. 7.

If the world broken should upon her fall,
The ruines may her strike, but not appall.

The avoyding of other inconveniences doth most commonly drive us into this, yea, sometimes the shunning of death, makes us to run into it.

Hic, rogo, non furor est, ne moriarc, mori?
—MART. ii. Epig. lxxx. 2.

Madnesse is 't not, say I,
To dye, lest you should dye?

As those who for feare of a break-neck downe-fall, doe headlong cast themselves into it.

*—multos in summa pericula misit
Venturi timor ipse mali: fortissimus ille est,
Qui promptus metuenda pati, si cominus instent,
Et differre potest.*—LUCAN. vii. 104.

The very feare of ils to come, hath sent
Many to mighty dangers: strongest they,
Who fearfull things t'endure are ready bent,
If they confront them, yet can them delay.

*—usque adeo mortis formidine, vitæ
Percipit humanos odium, lucisque videndæ,
Ut sibi consciscant marenti pectore lethum,
Obliiti fontem curarum hunc esse timorem.*

—LUCR. iii. 79.

So far by feare of death, the hate of life,
And seeing-light, doth men as men possesse,
They grieving kill themselves to end the strife,
Forgetting, feare is spring of their distresse.

Plato in his lawes, alots him that hath deprived his neerest and deerest friend of life (that is to say, himselfe) and abridged him of the destinies course, not constrained by any publike judgement, nor by any lewd and inevitable accident of fortune, nor by any intolerable shame or infamy, but through basenesse of minde, and weaknesse of a faint-fearfull courage; to have a most ignominious, and ever-reproachfull buriall. And the opinion which disdaineth our life, is ridiculous: For, in fine it is our being. It is our all in all. Things that have a nobler and richer being, may accuse ours: But it is against nature, we should despise, and carelesly set ourselves at naught: It is a particular infirmitie, and which is not seene in any other creature, to hate and disdaine himselfe. It is of like vanitie, that we desire to be other, than we are. The fruit of such a desire doth not concerne us, forasmuch as it contradicteth and hindereth it selfe in it selfe. He that desireth to be made of a man an Angell, doth nothing for himselfe: He should be nothing the better by it: And being no more, who shall rejoyce or conceive any gladnesse of this change or amendment for him?

Yet we
should
not
despise
life

*Debet enim miserè cui forte egregie futurum est,
Ipse quoque esse in eo tum tempore, cum male possit
Accidere.—Ib. 905.*

For he, who shall perchance prove miserable,
And speed but ill, should then himselfe be able
To be himselfe, when his may chance unstable.

The security, indolencie, impassibility, and pri-

Furious
desire of
death

vation of this lives evils, which we purchase at the price of death, bring us no commoditie at all. *No vaine doth he avoid warre, that cannot enjoy peace; and bootlesse doth he shun paine, that hath no meanes to feele rest.* Amongst those of the first opinion, great questioning hath beene, to know what occasions are sufficiently just and lawfull to make a man undertake the killing of himselfe, they call that *εὐλογον ἐξαιωγήν* (ΑΛΕΞ. ΑΡΗΡΟΔ.), *a reasonable orderly out-let.* For, although they say, a man must often dye for slight causes, since these that keepe us alive, are not very strong; yet is some measure required in them. There are certaine fantastick and braine-sicke humors, which have not only provoked particular men, but whole Nations to defeat themselves. I have heretofore alleaged some examples of them: And moreover we read of certaine Milesian virgins, who upon a furious conspiracie hanged themselves one after another, untill such time as the Magistrate provided for it, appointing that such as should be found so hanged, should with their owne halters be dragged naked thorow the streets of the Citie. When *Threicion* perswadeth *Cleomenes* to kill himselfe, by reason of the bad and desperate estate his affaires stood in, and having escaped a more honourable death in the battell which he had lately lost, moveth him to accept of this other, which is second to him in honour, and give the Conqueror no leisure to make him endure, either another death, or else a shamefull life. *Cleomenes* with a Lacedemonian and Stoike courage, refuseth this counsell

as base and effeminate: It is a receipt, (saith **Eternity of Hope** he) which can never faile me, and whereof a man should make no use, so long as there remaineth but one inch of hope: That to live, is sometimes constancie and valour; That he will have his very death serve his Countrey, and by it, shew an act of honour and of vertue: *Tiberion* then beleaved, and killed himselfe. *Cleomenes* did afterwards as much, but not before he had tried and assayed the utmost power of fortune. All inconveniences are not so much worth, that a man should dye to escape them. Moreover, there being so many sudden changes, and violent alterations in humane things, it is hard to judge in what state or point we are justly at the end of our hope:

Sperat et in seva victus gladiator arena,

—Sic licet infesto pollice turba minax.

The Fencer hopes, though downe in lists he lye,
And people with turn'd hand threat's he must dye.

All things, saith an ancient Proverb, may a man hope for, so long as he liveth: yea, but answereth *Seneca*, wherefore shall I rather have that in minde; that fortune can do all things for him that is living, than this; that fortune hath no power at all over him, who knoweth how to dye? *Joseph* is scene engaged in so an apparent-approaching danger, with a whole nation against him, that according to humane reason, there was no way for him to escape; notwithstanding being (as he saith) counselled by a friend of his, at that instant, to kill himselfe, it fell out well for

Some him to opinionate himselfe yet in hope: for fortune, beyond all mans discourse, did so turne have out-lived their hangman and change that accident, that without any inconvenience at all, he saw himselfe delivered: whereas on the contrarie *Brutus* and *Cassius*, by reason of the down-fall and rashnesse, wherewith before due time and occasion, they killed themselves; did utterly lose the reliques of the Roman libertie, whereof they were protectors. The Lord of *Anguien* in the battell of *Serisolles*, as one desperate of the combats successe, which on his side went to wracke, attempted twice to run himselfe thorow the throat with his rapier, and thought by precipitation to bereave himselfe of the enjoying of so notable a victorie. I have seene a hundred Hares save themselves even in the Grey-hounds jawes: *Aliquis carnifici suo superstes fuit* (SEN. *Epist.* xiii.). Some man hath out-lived his Hang-man.

*Multa dies variusque labor mutabilis ævi
Rettulit in melius, multos alterna revisens
Lusit, et in solido rursus fortuna locavit.*

—VIRG. *Æn.* xi. 426.

Time, and of turning age the divers straine,
Hath much to better brought, fortunes turn'd
traine,
Hath many mock't, and set them fast againe.

Plinie saith, there are but three sorts of sicknesses, which to avoid, a man may have some colour of reason to kill himselfe. The sharpest of all is the stone in the bladder, when the urine is there stopped. *Seneca*, those onely, which for long time disturbe and distract the offices of the

minde. To avoid a worse death, some are of opinion, a man should take it at his owne pleasure. *Democritus* chiefe of the *Ætolians*, being led captive to *Rome*, found meanes to escape by night: but being pursued by his keepers, rather than he would be taken againe, ran himselfe thorow with his Sword. *Antinoüs* and *Theodotus*, their Citie of *Epirus* being by the Romans reduced unto great extremitie, concluded, and perswaded all the people to kill themselves. But the counsell, rather to yeeld, having prevailed: they went to seeke their owne death, and rushed amidst the thickest of their enemies, with an intention, rather to strike; than to ward themselves. The Iland of *Gora*, being some yeares since surpris'd and over-run by the Turkes, a certaine Sicilian therein dwelling, having two faire daughters ready to be married, killed them both with his owne hands, together with their mother, that came in to help them. That done, running out into the streets, with a crosse-bow in one hand, and a caliver in the other, at two shoots, slew the two first Turkes that came next to his gates, then resolutely drawing his Sword, ran furiously among them; by whom he was suddenly hewen in peeces: Thus did he save himselfe from slavish bondage, having first delivered his owne from it. The Jewish women, after they had caused their children to be circumcized, to avoid the crueltie of *Antiochus*, did headlong precipitate themselves and them unto death. I have heard it credibly reported, that a Gentleman of good qualitie,

Instances
of rushing
upon
death

The
death of
Nicanor

being prisoner in one of our Gaoles, and his parents adventized that he should assuredly be condemned, to avoid the infamie of so reproachfull a death, appointed a Priest to tell him, that the best remedy for his deliverie, was to recommend himselfe to such a Saint, with such and such a vow, and to continue eight dayes without taking any sustenance, what faintnesse or weakness soever he should feele in himselfe. He beleevved them, and so without thinking on it, was delivered both of life and danger. *Scribonius* perawading *Liba* his nephew to kill himselfe, rather than to expect the stroke of justice, told him, that for a man to preserve his owne life, to put it into the hands of such as three or foure dayes after should come and seek it, was even to dispatch another mans businesse, and that it was no other, than for one to serve his enemies, to preserve his bloud, therewith to make food. We read in the Bible, that *Nicanor* the persecutor of Gods Law, having sent his Satellites to apprehend the good old man *Rasias*, for the honour of his vertue, surnamed the father of the *Jewes*; when that good man saw no other meanes left him, his gate being burned, and his enemies ready to lay hold on him, chose, rather than to fall into the hands of such villaines, and be so basely abused, against the honour of his plate, to dye nobly, and so smote himselfe with his owne sword; but by reason of his haaste, having not thoroughly slaine himselfe, he ran to throw himselfe downe from an high wall, amongst the throng of people, which making

him roome, he fell right upon his head. All which notwithstanding, perceiving life to remaine in him, he tooke heart againe; and getting up on his feet, all goared with blood, and loaden with strokes, making way through the prease, came to a craggy and downe-steepy rocke, where unable to go any further, by one of his wounds, with both his hands he pulled out his guts, and tearing and breaking them, cast them amongst such as pursued him; calling and attesting the vengeance of God to light upon them. Of all violences committed against conscience, the most in mine opinion to be avoided, is that which is offered against the chastitie of women, forasmuch as there is naturally some corporall pleasure commixt with it: And therefore the dissent cannot fully enough be joyned thereunto: And it seemeth, that force is in some sort, intermixed with some will. The ecclesiasticall Storie hath in especiall reverence, sundry such examples of devout persons, who called for death to warrant them from the out-rages which some tyrants prepared against their religion and consciences. *Pelagia* and *Sophronia*, both canonized; the first, together with her mother and sisters, to escape the outrageous rapes of some souldiers, threw her selfe into a river; the other, to shun the force of *Maxentius* the Emperour, slew her selfe. It shall peradventure redound to our honour in future ages, that a wise Author of these dayes, and namely a Parisian, doth labour to perswade the Ladies of our times, rather to hazard upon any resolution, than to embrace so horrible a counsell

Death
preferred
rather
than
shame

Life held
cheap for
divers
causes

of such desperation. I am sorie, that to put amongst his discourses, he knew not the good saying I learnt of a woman at *Tholouse*, who had passed through the hands of some souldiers: God be praised (said she) that once in my life, I have had my belly-full without sinne. Verily these cruelties are not worthy of the French curtesie. And God be thanked, since this good advertisement; our ayre is infinitely purged of them. Let it suffice, that in doing it, they say, *No, and take it*, following the rule of *Marot*. The historie is very full of such, who a thousand wayes have changed a lingering-toylsome life with death. *Lucius Aruntius* killed himselfe (as he said) to avoid what was past, and echue what was to come. *Granius Sylvanus*, and *Statius Proximus*, after they had beene pardoned by *Nero*, killed themselves, either because they scorned to live by the favour of so wicked a man, or because they would not another time be in danger of a second pardon, seeing his so easie-yeelding unto suspicions and accusations against honest men. *Spargapises* sonne unto Queene *Tomiris*, prisoner by the law of warre unto *Cyrus*, employed the first favour that *Cyrus* did him, by setting him free, to kill himselfe, as he who never pretended to reap other fruit by his liberty, than to revenge the infamie of his taking upon himselfe. *Boges* a Governour for King *Xerxes* in the country of *Ionia*, being besieged by the *Athenians* army under the conduct of *Cymon*, refused the composition, to returne safely, together with his goods and treasure into *Asia*, as one impatient to survive

the losse of what his Master had given him in charge ; and after he had stoutly and even to the last extremity, defended the Towne, having no manner of victuals left him ; first he cast all the gold, and treasure, with whatsoever he imagined the enemy might reap any commoditie by, into the river *Strimon* ; Then having caused a great pile of wood to be set on fire, and made all women, children, concubines and servants to be stripped and throwne into the flames, afterward ran-in himselfe, where all were burned. *Ninachetuen* a Lord in the East *Indies*, having had an inkling of the King of *Portugales* Viceroyes deliberation to dispossesse him, without any apparant cause, of the charge he had in *Malacca*, for to give it unto the King of *Campar* ; of himselfe resolved upon this resolution : First, he caused an high scaffold to be set up, somewhat longer than broad, underpropped with pillars, all gorgeously hanged with rich tapestrie, strewed with flowers, and adorned with pretious perfumes : Then having put-on a sumptuous long roabe of cloth of gold, richly beset with store of pretious stones of inestimable worth, he came out of the palace into the street, and by certaine steps ascended the scaffold, in one of the corners whereof, was a pile of aromaticall wood set afire. All the people of the Citie were flocked together, to see what the meaning of such unaccustomed preparation might tend unto. *Ninachetuen* with an undanted - bold, yet seeming - discontented countenance, declared the manifold obligations, which the *Portugal* Nation was indebted unto

The
death
of the
Indian
lord

Death him for; expostulated how faithfully and truly
 for the he had dealt in his charge; that having so often
 sake of witnessed, armed at all assayes for others; that
 husband his honour was much dearer unto him than life,
 or he was not to forsake the care of it for himselfe;
 country that fortune refusing him all meanes to oppose
 himselfe against the injurie intended against him,
 his courage, at the least willed him to remove
 the feeling thereof, and not become a laughing
 stocke unto the people, and a triumph to men of
 lesse worth than himselfe: which words as he
 was speaking, he cast himselfe into the fire.
Sextilia the wife of *Scamrus* and *Pranea* wife
 unto *Labeo*, to encourage their husbands, to
 avoid the dangers, which pressed them, where
 they had no share (but in regard of the interest
 of their conjugal affection) voluntarily engaged
 their life, in this extreme necessitie, to serve
 them, as an example to imitate, and company to
 regard. What they performed for their hus-
 bands; *Gocceius Neron* acted for his countrie,
 and though lesse profitable, yet equall in true
 love. That famous Interpreter of the lawes,
 abounding in riches, in reputation, in credit, and
 flourishing in health about the Emperour, had
 no other cause to rid himselfe of life, but the
 compassion of the miserable estate, wherein he
 saw the Romane common-wealth. There is
 nothing can be added unto the daintinesse of
Fulvius wives death, who was so inward with
Augustus. *Augustus* perceiving he had blabbed
 a certaine secret of importance, which he on
 trust had revealed unto him; one morning com-

ming to visit him, he seemed to frowne upon him for it; whereupon as guilty, he returneth home, as one full of despaire, and in piteous sort told his wife, that sithence he was false into such a mischief, he was resolved to kill himselfe; shee as one no whit dismayed, replied unto him; Thou shalt doe but right, since having so often experienced the incontinence of my tongue; thou hast not learnt to beware of it, yet give me leave to kill my selfe first, and without more ado, ran her selfe thorow with a sword. *Vibius Virius* despairing of his Cities safetie, besieged by the Romans, and mistrusting their mercie; in their Senates last consultation, after many remonstrances employed to that end, concluded, that the best and fairest way, was to escape fortune by their owne hands. The very enemies should have them in more honour, and *Hanniball* might perceive what faithfull friends he had forsaken: Enviting those that should allow of his advice, to come, and take a good supper, which was prepared in his house, where after great chieere, they should drinke together whatsoever should be presented unto him: a drinke that shall deliver our bodies from torments, free our mindes from injuries, and release our eyes and eares from seeing and hearing so many horrible mischiefes, which the conquered must endure at the hands of most cruel and offended conquerors: I have (quoth he) taken order, that men fit for that purpose shall be ready, when we shall be expired, to cast us into a great burning pile of wood. Diverse

The pro-
posall of
Vibius
Virius

The
death of
Jubellius

liv

approved of his high resolution, but few did imitate the same. Seven and twentie Senators followed him; who after they had attempted to stifle so irkesome, and suppress so terror-moving a thought, with quaffing and swilling of wine, they ended their repast by this deadly messe: and entre-embracing one another, after they had in common deplored and bewailed their countries mis-fortunes; some went home to their owne houses, othersome stayed there, to be entombed with *Vibius* in his owne fire; whose death was so long and lingering, forsomuch as the vapor of the wine having possessed their veines, and allowed the effect and operation of the poyson, that some lived an houre after they had seene their enemies enter *Capua*, which they caried the next day after, and incurred the miseries, and saw the calamities, which, at so high a rate they had sought to eschue. *Taurea Jubellius*, another citizen there, the Consull *Fulvius* returning from that shameful slaughter, which he had committed of 225. Senators, called him churlishly by his name, and having arrested him; Command (quoth he) unto him, that I also be massacred after so many others, that so thou maist brag to have murdered a much more valiant man than ever thou wast. *Fulvius*, as one enraged, disdainig him; forasmuch as he had newly received letters from *Rome* contrarie to the inhumanitie of his execution, which inhibited him to proceed any further; *Jubellius* continuing his speech, said; sithence my Countrie is taken, my friends butchered, and having with mine owne hands

slaine my wife and children, as the onely meane to free them from the desolation of this ruine; I may not dye the death of my fellow-citizens, let us borrow the vengeance of this hatefull life from vertue: And drawing a blade, he had hidden under his garments, therewith ran himselfe thorow, and falling on his face, died at the Consuls feet. *Alexander* besieged a Citie in *India*, the inhabitants whereof, perceiving themselves brought to a very narrow pinch, resolved obstinately to deprive him of the pleasure he might get of his victorie, and together with their Citie, in despite of his humanitie, set both the Towne and themselves on a light fire, and so were all consumed. A new kinde of warring, where the enemies did all they could, and sought to save them, they to loose themselves, and to be assured of their death, did all a man can, possible effect to warrant his life. *Astapa* a Citie in *Spaine*, being very weake of wals, and other defences, to withstand the Romanes that besieged the same; the inhabitants drew all their riches, and wealth into the market-place, whereof having made a heap, and on the top of it placed their wives and children, and encompassed and covered the same with drie brush wood, that it might burne the easier, and having appointed fifty lusty young men of theirs for the performance of their resolution, made a sally, where following their determined vow, seeing they could not vanquish, suffered themselves to be slaine every mothers childe. The fifty, after they had massacred every living soule remaining

Volun-
tary
death in
besieged
cities

The
death of
the Aby-
deans

in the Citle, and set fire to the heap, joyfully leaped there-into, ending their generous liberty in a state rather insensible, than dolorous and reprochfull; shewing their enemies, that if fortune had beene so pleased, they should aswell have had the courage to bereave them of the victory, as they had to yeeld it them both vaine and hideous; yea, and mortall to those, who allured by the glittering of the gold, that moulten ran from out the flame, thicke and three-fold approching greedily unto it, were therein smothered and burned, the formost being unable to give bake, by reason of the throng that followed them. The *Abideans* pressed by *Philip*, resolved upon the very same, but being prevented, the King whose heart yerned and abhorred to see the fond-rash precipitation of such an execution (having first seized-upon and saved the treasure, and moveables, which they had diversly condemned to the flames and utter spoyle) retiring all the Souldiers, granting them the full space of three dayes to make themselves away, that so they might doe it with more order and leasure; which three dayes they replenished with bloud and murther beyond all hostile cruelty: And which is strange, there was no one person saved, that had power upon himselfe. There are infinite examples of such-like popular conclusions, which seeme more violent, by how much more the effect of them is more universall. They are lesse than severall, what discourse would not doe in every one, it doth in all: The vehemence of societie, ravishing particular judge-

ments. Such as were condemned to dye in the time of *Tiberius*, and delaid their execution any while, lost their goods, and could not be buried; but such as prevented the same, in killing themselves, were solemnly enterred, and might at their pleasure, bequeath such goods as they had to whom they list. But a man doth also sometimes desire death, in hope of a greater good. I desire (saith Saint *Paul*) to be out of this world, that I may be with *Jesus Christ*: and who shal release me out of these bonds? *Cleombrotus Ambraciota* having read *Platoes Phædon*, was so possessed with a desire and longing for an after-life, that without other occasion or more adoe, he went and headlong cast himselfe into the sea. Whereby it appeareth how improperly we call this voluntarie dissolution, despaire; unto which the violence of hope doth often transport us, and as often a peacefull and setled inclination of judgement. *Jaques du Castell* Bishop of *Soissons*, in the voyage which Saint *Lewes* undertooke beyond the Seas, seeing the King and all his Army ready to returne into *France*, and leave the affaires of Religion imperfect, resolved with himselfe rather to goe to heaven; And having bidden his friends farewell, in the open view of all men, rushed alone into the enemies troops of whom he was forthwith hewen in peeces. In a certaine kingdome of these late-discovered *Indies*, upon the day of a solemne procession, in which the Idols they adore, are publikely carried up and downe, upon a chariot of exceeding greatnesse: besides that, there are many scenes to cut

Some
desire
death in
hope of a
greater
good

Legal
suicide
in Mar-
seilles

BOOK

and slice great mammocks of their quicke flesh, to offer the said Idols; there are numbers of others seene, who prostrating themselves alongst upon the ground, endure very patiently to be mouldred and crushed to death, under the Chariots wheelles, thinking thereby to purchase after their death, a veneration of holinesse, of which they are not defrauded. The death of this Bishop, armed as we have said, argueth more generositie, and lesse sence: the heat of the combat ammusung one part of it. Some common-wealths there are, that have gone about to away the justice, and direct the opportunitie of voluntarie deaths. In our Citie of *Marseille*, they were wont in former ages, ever to keepe some poison in store, prepared and compounded with hemlocke, at the Cities charge, for such as would upon any occasion shorten their daies, having first approved the reasons of their enterprise unto the six hundred Elders of the Towne, which was their Senate: For, otherwise it was unlawfull for any body, except by the Magistrates permission, and for very lawfully-urgent occasions, to lay violent hands upon himselfe. The very same law was likewise used in other places. *Sextus Pompeius* going into *Asia*, passed thorow the Iland of *Cea*, belonging to *Negropont*; it fortuned whilst he abode there, (as one reporteth that was in his companie) that a woman of great authority, having first yeilded an accompt unto her Citizens, and shewed good reasons why she was resolved to end her life, earnestly entreated *Pompey* to be an assistant at

her death, that so it might be esteemed more honourable, which he assented unto; and having long time in vaine sought, by vertue of his eloquence (wherein he was exceeding ready) and force of perswasion, to alter her intent, and remove her from her purpose, in the end yeelded to her request. She had lived foure score and ten yeares in a most happy estate of minde and body, but then lying on her bed, better adorned than before she was accustomed to have it, and leaning on her elbow, thus she bespake: The Gods, Oh *Sextus Pompeius*, and rather those I forgoe, than those I goe unto, reward and appay thee, for that thou hast vouchsafed to be both a counsellor of my life, and a witnesse of my death. As for my part, having hitherto ever tasted the favourable visage of fortune, for feare the desire of living overlong should make me taste of her frownes, with an happy and successefull end, I will now depart, and licence the remainder of my soule, leaving behind me two daughters of mine, with a legion of grand-children and nephewes. That done, having preached unto, and exhorted all her people and kinsfolks to an unitie and peace, and divided her goods amongst them, and recommended her houshold Gods unto her eldest daughter, with an assuredly-staide hand she tooke the cup, wherein the poyson was, and having made her vowes unto *Mercurie*, and prayers, to conduct her unto some happy place in the other world, roundly swallowed that mortall potion; which done, she intertained the company with the progresse of her behaviour, and as the parts

The story
from the
Island of
Cea

Montaigne's
apprecia-
tion of

of her body were one after another possessed with the cold operation of that venom; untill such time as shee said, shee felt it worke at the heart and in her entralls, shee called her daughter to doe her the last office, and close her eyes. *Plinie* reporteth of a certaine *Hiperborean* nation, wherein, by reason of the milde temperature of the aire, the inhabitants thereof, commonly never dye, but when they please to make themselves away, and that being weary and tired with living, they are accustomed at the end of a long-long age; having first made merry and good cheare with their friends, from the top of an high-steepy rocke, appointed for that purpose, to cast themselves headlong into the Sea. Grieving smart, and a worse death seems to me the most excusable incitations.

CHAP. IV

To morrow is a new day

I DO with some reason, as me seemeth, give pricke and praise unto *Jaques Amiot* above all our French writers, not only for his natural purity, and pure elegancie of the tongue, wherein he excelleth all others, nor for his indefatigable constancie of so long and toyle-some a labour, nor for the unsearchable depth of his knowledge, having so successefully-happy been able to explaine an Author so close and thorny, and unfold a writer so mysterious and entangled

(for, let any man tell me what he list; I have no skill of the Greeke, but I see thorowout al his translation a sense so closely-joynted, and so pithily-continued, that either he hath assuredly understood and inned the very imagination, and the true conceit of the Author, or having through a long and continuall [conversation], lively planted in his minde a generall Idea of that of *Plutarke*, he hath at least lent him nothing that doth belye him, or mis-seeme him) but above all, I know him thanks that he hath had the hap to chuse, and knowledge to cull-out so worthy a worke, and a booke so fit to the purpose, therewith to make so unvaluable a present unto his Countrie. We that are in the number of the ignorant had beene utterly confounded, had not his booke raised us from out the dust of ignorance: God, a-mercy his endeavours we dare [now] both speake and write: Even Ladies are therewith able to confront Masters of arts: It is our breviarie. If so good a man chance to live, I bequeath *Xenophon* unto him, to doe as much. It is an easier peece of worke, and so much the more agreeing with his age. Moreover, I wot not how me seemeth, although he roundly and clearly disintangle himselfe from hard passages, that notwithstanding his stile is more close and neerer it selfe, when it is not laboured and wrested, and that it glideth smoothly at his pleasure. I was even now reading of that place, where *Plutarke* speaketh of himselfe, that *Romanticus* being present at a declamation of his in Rome, received a packet from the Emperour,

No man less inquisitive than Montaigne which he temporized to open untill he had made an end : wherein (saith he) all the assistants did singularly commend the gravitie of the man. Verily, being on the instance of curiositie, and on the greedy and insatiate passion of newes, which with such indiscreet impatience, and impatient indiscretion, induceth us to neglect all things, for to entertaine a new-come guest, and forget al respect and countenance, whersoever we be, suddenly to break up such letters as are brought us ; he had reason to commend the gravitie of *Rusticus* : to which he might also have added the commendation of his civilitie and curtesie, for that he would not interrupt the course of his declamation ; But I make a question, whether he might be commended for his wisdom : for, receiving unexpected letters, and especially from an Emperour, it might very well have fortuneed, that his deferring to read them, might have caused some notable inconvenience. *Recklesnes is the vice contrarie unto curiositie*, towards which I am naturally enclined, and wherein I have seen many men so extremely plunged, that three or foure dayes after the receiving of letters, which hath beene sent them, they have beene found in their pockets yet unopened. I never opened any, not only of such as had beene committed to my keeping, but of such as by any fortune came to my hands. And I make a conscience, standing neare some great person, if mine eyes chance, at unwares, to steale some knowledge of any letters of importance that he readeth. Never was man lesse inquisitive, or

pryed lesse into other mens affaires, than I. In our fathers time; the Lord of *Boutieres* was like to have lost *Turwin*, forsomuch as being one night at supper in very good company, he deferred the reading of an advertisement, which was delivered him of the treasons that were practised and complotted against that Citie, where he commanded. And *Plutarke* himselfe hath taught me, that *Julius Cæsar* had escaped death, if going to the Senate-house, that day wherein he was murthered by the Conspirators, he had read a memorial which was presented unto him. Who likewise reporteth the storie of *Archias*, the Tyrant of *Thebes*, how the night fore-going the execution of the enterprise that *Pelopidas* had complotted to kill him; thereby to set his Countrie at libertie: another *Archias* of *Athens* writ him a letter, wherein he particularly related unto him all that was conspired and complotted against him; which letter being delivered him whilst he sate at supper, he deferred the opening of it, pronouncing this by-word: *To morrow is a new day*, which afterward was turned to a Proverb in *Greece*. A wise man may, in mine opinion, for the interest of others, as not unmannerly to breake companie, like unto *Rusticus*, or not to discontinue some other affaire of importance, remit and defer to understand such newes as are brought him: but for his owne private interest or particular pleasure, namely, if he be a man having publike charge, if he regard his dinner so much, that he will not break it off; or his sleepe, that he will not interrupt it: to

Opening
letters
before
folk

It is hard
to pre-
scribe
rules for
conduct

doe it, is inexcusable. And in former ages was the Consulare-place in *Rome*, which they named the most honourable at the table, because it was more free and more accessible for such as might casually come in, to entertaine him that should be there placed. Witnessse, that though they were sitting at the board, they neither omitted nor gave over the managing of other affaires, and following of other accidents. But when all is said, it is very hard, chiefly in humane actions, to prescribe so exact rules by discourse of reason, that fortune doe not away, and keepe her right in them.

CHAP. V

Of Conscience

MY brother the Lord of *Brouze* and my selfe, during the time of our civill warres, travelling one day together, we fortun'd to meet upon the way with a Gentleman, in outward semblance, of good demeanour; He was of our contrarie faction, but forasmuch as he counterfeited himselfe otherwise; I knew it not. And the worst of these tumultuous intestine broyles, is, that the cards are so shuffled (your enemy being neither by language, nor by fashion, nor by any other apparent marke distinguished from you; nay, which is more, brought up under the same lawes and customes, and breathing the same ayre) that it is a very hard matter to avoid confusion and shun

disorder. Which consideration, made me not a little fearefull to meet with our troopes, especially where I was not knowne, lest I should be urged to tell my name, and haply doe worse. As other times before it had befallne me; for, by such a chance, or rather mistaking, I fortun'd once to lose all my men and horses, and hardly escaped my selfe: and amongst other my losses, and servants that were slaine, the thing that most grieved me, was the untimely and miserable death of a young Italian Gentleman, whom I kept as my Page, and very carefully brought up, with whom dyed, as forward, as budding and as hopefull a youth as ever I saw. But this man seemed so fearfully-dismaid, and at every encounter of horsemen, and passage, by, or thorow any Towne that held for the King, I observed him to be so strangely distracted, that in the end I perceived, and ghesed they were but guilty alarums that his conscience gave him. It seemed unto this seely man, that all might apparently, both through his blushing selfe-accusing countenance, and by the crosses he wore upon his upper garments, read the secret intentions of his faint heart. Of such marvailous-working power is the sting of conscience: which often induceth us to bewray, to accuse, and to combat our selves; and for want of other evidences shew produceth our selves against our selves.

The sting
of con-
science

Occultum quatiente animo tortore flagellum.

—JUVEN. Sat. xiii. 195.

Their minde, the tormentor of sinne,
Shaking an unseene whip within.

Con-
science
the
accuser

The storie of *Bessus* the Pœnian is so common, that even children have it in their mouths, who being found fault withall, that in mirth he had beaten downe a nest of young Sparrowes, and then killed them, answered, he had great reason to doe it; forsomuch as those young birds ceased not falsly to accuse him to have murdered his father, which parricide was never suspected to have beene committed by him; and untill that day had layen secret; but the revengefull furies of the conscience, made the same partie to reveale it, that by all right was to doe penance for so hatefull and unnaturall a murther. *Hesiodus* correcteth the saying of *Plato*, That punishment doth commonly succeed the guilt, and follow sinne at hand: for, he affirmeth, that it rather is borne at the instant, and together with sinne it selfe, and they are as twinnes borne at one birth together. *Whosoever expects punishment, suffereth the same, and whosoever deserveth it, he doth expect it. Impietie doth invent, and iniquitie doth frame torments against it selfe.*

Malum consilium consultori pessimum.

—ERAS. *Chil.* i. cent. ii. ad. 14

Bad counsell is worst for the counsellor that gives the counsell.

Even as the Waspe stingeth, and offendeth others, but her selfe much more; for, in hurting others, she loseth her force and sting for ever.

— *itasque in ulnere ponunt.*

—VIRG. *Georg.* iv. 238.

They, while they others sting,
Death to themselves doe bring

The *Cantharides* have some part in them, which by a contrarietie of nature serveth as an antidot or counterpoison against their poison: so likewise, as one taketh pleasure in vice, there is a certaine contrarie displeasure engendred in the conscience, which by sundry irksome and painfull imaginations, perplexeth and tormenteth us, both waking and asleepe.

No rest
for the
wicked

*Quippe ubi se multi per somnia sæpe loquentes,
Aut morbo delirantes procraxe ferantur,
Et celata diu in medium peccata dedisse.*—*LUCA. v. 1162.*

Many in dreames oft speaking, or unhealed,
In sicknesse raving have themselves revealed,
And brought to light their sinnes long time concealed.

Apollodorus dreamed he saw himself first dead by the Scythians; and then boyled in a pot, and that his owne heart murmured, saying; I only have caused this mischief to light upon thee: *Epicurus* was wont to say, that no lurking hole can shroud the wicked; for, they can never assure themselves to be sufficiently hidden, since conscience is ever ready to disclose them to themselves.

*—prima est hæc ultio, quod se
Judice nemo nocens absolvitur.*—*JUVEN. Sat. xlii. 2.*

This is the first revenge, no guilty mind
Is quitted, though it selfe be judge assign'd.

Which as it doth fill us with feare and doubt,
so doth it store us with assurance and trust. And I may boldly say, that I have waded thorow many dangerous hazards, with a more untired

An pace, only in consideration of the secret knowledge I had of mine owne will, and innocence of my desseignes.

*Conscia mens ut cuique sua est, ita concipit intra
Pectora pro facto spemque matumque suo.*

—OVID. *Fast.* i. 485.

As each mans minde is guiltie, so doth he
Inlie breed hope and feare, as his deeds be.

Of examples, there are thousands; It shall suffice us to alleage three only, and all of one man. *Scipio* being one day accused before the Romane people, of an urgent and capitall accusation; in stead of excusing himselfe, or flattering the Judges; turning to them, he said. It will well beseme you to undertake to judge of his head, by whose meanes you have authoritie to judge of all the world. The same man, another time, being vehemently urged by a *Tribune* of the people, who charged him with sundry imputations, in lieu of pleading or excusing his cause, gave him this sudden and short answer. Let us goe (quoth he) my good Citizens; let us forthwith goe (I say) to give hartie thanks unto the Gods for the victorie, which even upon such a day as this is, they gave me against the Carthaginians. And therewith advancing himselfe to march before the people, all the assembly, and even his accuser himselfe did undelayedly follow him towards the Temple. After that, *Petilius* having beene animated and stirred up by *Gato* to sollicite and demand a strict accompt of him, of the money he had managed, and which was

committed to his trust, whilst he was in the Province of *Antioch*; *Scipio* being come into the Senate-house, of purpose to answer for himselfe, pulling out the booke of his accompts from under his gowne, told them all, that that booke contained truly, both the receipt and laying out thereof; and being required to deliver the same unto a Clarke to register it, he refused to doe it, saying he would not doe himselfe that wrong or indignitie; and thereupon with his owne hands, in presence of all the Senate, tore the booke in peecea. I cannot apprehend or beleeeve, that a guiltie-cauterized conscience could possibly dissemble or counterfet such an undismayed assurance: His heart was naturally too great, and enured to overhigh fortune (saith *Titus Livius*) to know how to be a criminall offender, and stoopingly to yeeld himselfe to the basenesse, to defend his innocencie. Torture and racking are dangerous inventions, and seeme rather to be trials of patience than Essayes of truth. And both he that can; and he that cannot endure them, conceale the truth. For wherefore shall paine or smart, rather compell me to confesse that, which is so indeed, than force me to tell that which is not? And contrariwise, if he who hath not done that whereof he is accused, is sufficiently patient to endure those torments; why shall not he be able to tolerate them, who hath done it; and is guilty indeed; so deare and worthy a reward as life being proposed unto him? I am of opinion, that the ground of his invention, proceedeth from the consideration of

Torture
and racking
are
dangerous
inventions

Torture the power and facultie of the conscience. For, produces to the guilty, it seemeth to give a kinde of false con- furtherance to the torture, to make him confesse sessions his fault, and weakneth and dismayeth him: and on the other part, it encourageth and strengthneth the innocent against torture. To say truth, it is a meane full of uncertainty and danger. What would not a man say; nay, what not doe, to avoid so grievous paines, and shun such torments?

Etiam innocentes cogit mentiri dolor.—SEN. Prover.

Torment to lye sometimes will drive,
Ev'n the most innocent alive.

Whence it followeth, that he whom the Judge hath tortured, because he shall not dye an innocent, he shall bring him to his death, both innocent and tortured. Many thousands have thereby charged their heads with false confessions. Amongst which I may well place *Phylotas*, considering the circumstances of the endictment that *Alexander* framed against him, and the progresse of his torture. But so it is, that (as men say) it is the least evill humane weaknesse could invent: though, in my conceit, very inhumanely, and therewithall most unprofitably. Many Nations lesse barbarous in that, than the Græcian, or the Romane, who terme them so, judge it a horrible and cruell thing, to racke and torment a man for a fault whereof you are yet in doubt. Is your ignorance long of him? What can he doe withall? Are not you unjust, who because you will not put him

to death without some cause, you doe worse than kill him? And that it is so, consider but how often he rather chuseth to dye guiltlesse, than passe by this information, much more painful, than the punishment or torment; and who many times, by reason of the sharpnesse of it, preventeth, furthereth, yea, and executeth the punishment. I wot not whence I heard this story, but it exactly hath reference unto the conscience of our Justice. A countrie woman accused a souldier before his Generall, being a most severe Justicer, that he, with violence, had snatched from out her poore childrens hands, the small remainder of some pap or water-gruell, which shee had onely left to sustaine them, forsomuch as the Army had ravaged and wasted all. The poore woman had neither witnesse nor prooffe of it; It was but her yea, and his no; which the Generall perceiving, after he had summoned her to be well advised what shee spake, and that shee should not accuse him wrongfully; for, if shee spake an untruth, shee should then be culpable of his accusation: But shee constantly persisting to charge him, he forthwith, to discover the truth, and to be thoroughly resolved, caused the accused Souldiers belly to be ripped, who was found faulty, and the poore woman to have said true; whereupon shee was discharged. A condemnation instructive to others.

The
mother,
the
soldier,
and the
food

CHAP. VI

Of Exercise or Practice

**Educa-
tion by
hardships** **I**T is a hard matter (although our conceit doe willingly apply it selfe unto it) that Discourse and Instruction, should sufficiently be powerful, to direct us to action, and addresse us to performance, if over and besides that, we doe not by experience exercise and frame our minde, to the traine whereunto we will range it: otherwise, when we shall be on the point of the effects, it will doubtlesse finde it selfe much engaged and empeached. And that is the reason why amongst Philosophers, those that have willed to attaine to some greater excellence, have not beene content, at home, and at rest to expect the rigors of fortune, for feare she should surprise them unexperienced and finde them novices, if she should chance to enter fight with them; but have rather gone to meet and front her before, and witting-earnestly cast themselves to the triall of the hardest difficulties. Some have thereby voluntarily forsaken great riches, onely to practise a voluntarie povertie: others have willingly found out labour, and an austeritie of a toylesome life, thereby to harden and enure themselves to evill, and travell: othersome have frankly deprived themselves of the dearest and best parts of their body, as of their eyes, and members of generation, lest their over-pleasing, and too-too wanton service, might in any sort mollifie

and distract the constant resolution of their minde. But to dye, which is the greatest worke we have to doe, exercise can nothing availle us thereunto. A man may, by custome and experience, fortifie himselfe against griefe, sorrow, shame, want, and such like accidents: But concerning death, we can but once feele and trie the same. We are all novices, and new to learne when we come unto it. There have, in former times, beene found men so good husbands and thrifty of time, that even in death they have assayed to taste and, [savour] it; and bent their minde to observe and see, what manner of thing that passage of death was; but none did ever yet come backe againe to tell us tidings of it.

We are
all ap-
prentices
with
regard to
death

—*nemo exspertus erat*
Frigida quem semel est vitæ pausa sequuta.

—Lucr. iii. 973.

No man doth ever-after wake,
Whom once his lifes cold rest doth take.

Canius Julius, a noble Romane, a man of singular vertue and constancie, having beene condemned to death by that lewdly-mischievous monster of men, *Caligula*: besides many marvelous evident assurances he gave of his matchlesse resolution, when he was even in the nicke to endure the last stroke of the executioner; a Philosopher, being his friend, interrupted him with this question, saying: *Canius*, in what state is your soule now; what doth she; what thoughts possesse you now? I thought (answered he) to keepe me ready and prepared with all my

Sleep is a force, to see whether in this instant of death, so
 foretaste short and so neere at hand, I might perceive
 of death some dislodging or distraction of the soule; and
 whether it will shew some feeling of her sudden
 departure; that (if I apprehend or learne any
 thing of her) I may afterward, if I can, returne,
 and give advertisement thereof unto my friends.
 Loe here a Philosopher, not only untill death,
 but even in death it selfe: what assurance was
 it, and what fiercenes of courage, to will that his
 owne death should serve him as a lesson, and
 have leasure to thinke else where in a matter of
 such consequence;

—*jus hoc animi morientis habebat,*

—LUCAN. viii. 636.

This power of minde had he,
 When it from him did flee.

Me seemeth neverthelesse, that in some sort
 there is a meane to familiarize our selves with it,
 and to assay it. We may have some experience
 of it, if not whole and perfect, at least such as
 may not altogether be unprofitable, and which
 may yeelde us better fortified and more assured.
 If we cannot attaine unto it; we may at least
 approch it, and discern the same: And if we
 cannot enter her fort, yet shal we see and fre-
 quent the approaches unto it. It is not without
 reason we are taught to take notice of our sleepe,
 for the resemblance it hath with death. How
 easily we passe from waking to sleeping; with
 how little interest we lose the knowledge of
 light, and of our selves. The facultie of sleepe

might haply seeme unprofitable, and against ^{Sense} nature, sithence it depriveth us of all actions, ^{evils} and barrèth us of all sense, were it not that ^{greater in} nature doth thereby instruct us, that she hath ^{imagina-} equally made us, as well to live, as to die; and ^{tion than} by life presenteth the eternal state unto us, which ^{in reality} she after the same reserveth for us, so to accustome us thereunto, and remove the feare of it from us. But such as by some violent accident are faine into a faintnes of heart, and have lost all senses, they, in mine opinion, have well-nigh beene, where they might behold her true and naturall visage: For, touching the instant or moment of the passage, it is not to be feared, it should bring any travell or displeasure with it, forasmuch as we can have, nor sense, nor feeling, without leasure. Our sufferances have need of time, which is so short, and plunged in death, that necessarily it must be insensible. It is the approaches that lead unto it we should feare, and those may fall within the compasse of mans experience. Many things seeme greater by imagination, than by effect. I have passed over a good part of my age in sound and perfect health. I say, not only sound, but blithe and wantonly-lustfull. That state full of lust, of prime and mirth, made me deeme the consideration of sicknesses so yrkesome and horrible, that when I came to the experience of them, I have found their fits but weake, and their assaults but faint, in respect of my apprehended feare. Lo here what I daily prove. Let me be under a rooffe, in a good chamber, warme-clad, and well

Montaigne relates
 at ease in some tempestuous and stormy night.
 I am exceedingly perplexed, and much grieved
 for such as are abroad, and have no shelter :
 But let me be in the storme my selfe, I doe
 not so much as desire to be else-where. Only
 to be continually pent up in a chamber, seemed
 intolerable to me. I have now enured my selfe
 to live a whole weeke, yea a moneth in my
 chamber full of care, trouble, alteration and
 weaknesse ; and have found, that in the time of
 my best health I moaned such as were sicke,
 much more than I can well moane my selfe
 when I am ill at ease : and that the power of
 my apprehension did well-nigh halfe endear the
 essence and truth of the thing it selfe. I am in
 good hope the like will happen to me of death :
 and that it is not worth the labour I take for so
 many preparations as I prepare against her ; and
 so many helps as I call to sustaine, and assemble
 to endure the shocke and violence of it. But
 hab or nab we can never take too much advan-
 tage of it. During our second or third troubles
 (I doe not well remember which) I fortun'd one
 day, for recreation sake, to goe forth and take
 the ayre, about a league from my house, who
 am seated even in the bowels of all troubles of
 our civill warres of *France*, supposing to be most
 safe, so neere mine owne home and [r]etreite,
 that I had no need of better attendance or equi-
 page. I was mounted upon a very easie-going
 nag, but not very sure. At my returning home
 againe, a sudden occasion being offered me,
 to make use of this nag in a peece of service,

whereto he was neither trained nor accustomed, **his horse**
 one of my men (a strong sturdy fellow) mounted, **accident**
 upon a young strong-headed horse, and that had
 a desperate hard mouth, fresh, lusty and in breath;
 to shew his courage, and to out-goe his fellowes,
 fortun'd with might and maine to set spurs
 unto him, and giving him the bridle, to come
 right into the path where I was, and as a *Colossus*
 with his weight riding over me and my nag, that
 were both very little, he overthrew us both, and
 made us fall with our heeles upward: so that
 the nag lay along astonied in one place, and I in
 a trance groveling on the ground ten or twelke
 paces wide of him; my face all torne and brused,
 my sword which I had in my hand a good way
 from me, my girdle broken, with no more motion
 or sense in me than a stocke. It is the only
 swowning that ever I felt yet. Those that were
 with me, after they had assayed all possible
 meanes to bring me to my selfe againe, suppos-
 ing me dead, tooke me in their armes, and with
 much adoe were carying me home to my house,
 which was about halfe a french league thence:
 upon the way, and after I had for two houres
 space, by all, beene supposed dead and past all
 recoverie, I began to stir and breathe: for, so
 great abundance of bloud was false into my
 stomake, that to discharge it, nature was forced
 to rowze up her spirits. I was immediately set
 upon my feet, and bending forward, I presently
 cast up, in quantitie as much clottie pure bloud,
 as a bucket will hold, and by the way was
 constrained to doe the like divers times before I

His could get home, whereby I began to recover a little life, but it was by little and little, and so long adoin, that my chiefe senses were much more enclining to death than to life.

*Perche dubbiosa ancor del suo ritorno
Non s'assicura attonita la mente.*

For yet the minde doubtfull it's returne
Is not assured, but astonished.

The remembrance whereof (which yet I beare deeply imprinted in my minde) representing me her visage and *Idea* so lively and so naturally, doth in some sort reconcile me unto her. And when I began to see, it was: with so dim, so weake and so troubled a sight, that I could not discerne anything of the light.

*—come quel a'hor' apre, hor chiude
Gli occhi, mezzo tra'l sonno el esser desto.*

As he that sometimes opens, sometimes shuts
His eyes, betweene sleepe and awake.

Touching the function of the soule, they started up and came in the same progresse as those of the body. I perceived my selfe all bloody; for my doublet was all sullied with the bloud I had cast. The first conceit I apprehended, was, that I had received some shot in my head; and in truth, at the same instant, there were divers that shot round about us. Me thought, my selfe had no other hold of me, but of my lips-ends. I closed mine eyes, to helpe (as me seemed) to send it forth, and tooke a kinde of pleasure to linger and languishingly to

let my selfe goe from my selfe. It was an imagination swimming superficially in my minde, as weake and as tender as all the rest: but in truth, not only exempted from displeasure, but rather commixt with that pleasant sweetnesse, which they feele that suffer themselves to fall into a soft-slumbring and sense-entrancing sleepe. I beleeve it is the same state, they find themselves in, whom in the agony of death we see to droop and faint thorow weaknesse: and am of opinion, we plaine and moane them without cause, esteeming that either they are agitated with grievous pangs, or that their soule is pressed with painfull cogitations. It was ever my conceit, against the opinion of many, yea and against that of *Stephanus la Boetie*, that those whom we see, so overwhelmed, and faintly-drooping at the approches of their end, or utterly cast downe with the lingring tediousnesse of their diseases, or by accident of some apoplexie, or falling-evill,

Perhaps death is easier than we think

—(*vi morbi saepe coactus
Ante oculos aliquis nostros ut fulminis ictu,
Concidit, et spumas agit, ingemit, et fremit artus,
Despicit, extendat nervos, terquetur, anhelat,
Inconstanter et in jactanda membra fatigat*)

—LUCR. iii. 490.

(Some man by force of sicknesse driv'n doth fall,
As if by thunder stroke, before our eyes;
He fomes, he grones, he trembles over all,
He raves, he stretches, he's vext, panting lyes,
He tyr's his limmes by tossing,
Now this now that way crossing.)

or hurt in the head, whom we heare throb and rattle, and send forth grones and gaspes, although

Heaviness of unuttered misery: we gather some tokens from them, whereby it seemeth, they have yet some knowledge left and certaine motions we see them make with their body: I say, I have ever thought, they had their soule and body buried and asleepe.

Vivat et est vita nescius ipse sue.

—OVID. *Trist.* l. *El.* lli. 12.

He lives yet knowes not he,
That he alive should be.

And I could not beleeeve, that, at so great an astonishment of members, and deffailance of senses, the soule could maintaine any force within, to know herselfe; and therefore had no manner of discourse tormenting them, which might make them judge and feele the misery of their condition, and that consequently they were not greatly to be moaned. As for my selfe, I imagine no state so intolerable nor condition so horrible, as to have a feelingly-afflicted soule, void of meanes to disburthen and declare her selfe: As I would say of those we send to execution, having first caused their tongue to be cut out, were it not that in this manner of death, the most dumbe seemes unto me the fittest, namely, if it be accompanied with a resolute and grave countenance. And as those miserable prisoners which light in the hands of those hardharted and villenous Souldiers of these times, of whom they are tormented with all maner of cruell entreatie, by compulsion to drawe them unto some excessive and impossible ransome, keeping them al that while in so hard a condi-

tion and place, that they have no way left them to utter their thoughts and expresse their miserie. The Poets have fained, there were some Gods, that favoured the release of such as sufferd so languishing deaths.

The state
between
sleeping
and
waking

—*hunc ego Diti*

Sacrum jussa fero, teque isto corpore solvo.

—VIRG. *Æn.* iv. 703, Iris.

This to death sacred, I, as was my charge,
Doe beare, and from this body thee enlarge.

And the faltering speeches and uncertaine answers, that by continuall ringing in their eares and incessant urging them, are sometimes by force wrested from them or by the motions which seeme to have some simpathy with that whereof they are examined, is notwithstanding no witnes that they live at least a perfect sound life. We do also in yawning, before sleep fully seize upon us, apprehend as it were in a slumber, what is done about us, and with a troubled and uncertaine hearing, follow the voyces, which seeme to sound but on the outward limits of our soule; and frame answers according to the last words we heard, which taste more of chance than of sense: which thing now I have proved by experience, I make no doubt, but hitherto, I have well judged of it. For, first lying as in a trance, I laboured even with my nailes to open my doublet (for I was unarmed) and well I wot, that in my imagination I felt nothing did hurt me. For, there are severall motions in us, which proceed not of our free wil.

**Involun-
tary
actions**

Semianimisque micant digiti, ferrumque retractant.

—x. 396.

The halfe-dead fingers stirre, and feele,
(Though it they cannot stirre) for steele.

Those that fall, doe commonly by a naturall
impulsion cast their armes abroad before their
falling, which sheweth, that our members have
certaine offices, which they lend one to another,
and possesse certaine agitations, apart from our
discourse :

*Falciferos memorant currus abscindere membra,
Ut tremere in terra videatur ab artubus, id quod
Decidit abscissum, cum mens tamen atque hominis vis
Mobilitate mali non quit sentire dolorem.*—*Lucr.* lii. 648.

They say, sith-bearing charlots limbes bereave,
So as on earth, that which cut-off they leave,
Doth seeme to quake; when yet mans force and
minde
Doth not the paine, through so quicke motion,
finde.

My stomacke was surcharged with clotted
bloud, my hands of themselves were still running
to it, as often they are wont (yea against the
knowledge of our will) where we feele it to
itch. There are many creatures, yea and some
men, in whom after they are dead, we may see
their muskles to close and stirre. All men
know by experience, there be some parts of our
bodies, which often without any consent of ours
doe stirre, stand and lye downe againe. Now
these passions, which but exteriorly touch us,
cannot properly be termed ours; For, to make
them ours, a man must wholly be engaged unto

them : And the paines that our feet or hands
 feeble whilst we sleepe, are not ours. When I
 came neere my house, where the tidings of my
 fall was already come, and those of my household
 met me, with such outcries as are used in like
 times, I did not only answer some words, to
 what I was demanded, but some tell me, I had
 the memory to command my men to give my
 wife a horse, whom I perceived to be over-tired,
 and labouring in the way, which is very hilly,
 foule, and rugged. It seemeth this considera-
 tion proceeded from a vigilant soule : yet was I
 cleane distracted from it, they were but vaine
 conceits, and as in a cloud, only moved by the
 sense of the eyes and eares : They came not
 from my selfe. All which notwithstanding, I
 knew neither whence I came, nor whither I
 went, nor could I understand or consider what
 was spoken unto me. They were but light
 effects, that my senses produced of themselves,
 as it were of custome. Whatsoever the soule
 did assist it with, was but a dreame, being lightly
 touched, and only sprinkled by the soft impres-
 sion of the senses. In the meane time my state
 was verily most pleasant and easefull. I felt no
 manner of care or affliction, neither for my selfe
 nor others. It was a slumbering, languishing
 and extreme weaknesse, without any paine at all.
 I saw mine owne house and knew it not ; when
 I was laid in my bed, I felt great ease in my
 rest, For I had beene vilely hurried and haled
 by those poore men, which had taken the paines
 to carry me upon their armes a long and weary-

Mon-
 taigne
 reflects
 upon his
 accident

'It had some way, and to say truth, they had all beene
 beene a wearied twice or thrice over, and were faine to
 very shift severall times. Many remedies were pre-
 sently offered me, but I tooke none, supposing
 death verily I had beene deadly hurt in the head.
 To say truth, it had beene a very happy death:
 For, the weaknesse of my discourse hinderd me
 from judging of it, and the feeblenesse of my
 body from feeling the same. Me thought I was
 yeelding up the ghost so gently, and after so
 easie and indolent a manner, that I feele no
 other action lesse burthensome than that was.
 But when I began to come to life againe and
 recover my former strength,

Ut tandem sensus convalescere mei,

—OVID. *Trist.* l. *El.* iii. 14.

At last when all the sprites I beare,
 Recall'd and recollected were,

which was within two or three houres after, I
 presently felt my selfe full of aches and paines
 all my body over; for, each part thereof was
 with the violence of the fall much brused and
 tainted; and for two or three nights after I
 found my self so ill, that I verily supposed I
 shold have had another fit of death: But that
 a more lively, and sensible one: (and to speak
 plaine) I feele my bruises yet, and feare me shall
 do while I live: I will not forget to tell you,
 that the last thing I could rightly fall into
 againe, was the remembrance of this accident,
 and I made my men many times to repeat me
 over and over againe, whither I was going,
 whence I came, and at what houre that chance

befell me, before I could throughly conceive it. Concerning the manner of my falling, they in favour of him who had beene the cause of it, concealed the truth from me, and told me other slim slim tales. But a while after, and the morrow next when my memorie began to come to it selfe againe, and represent the state unto me, wherein I was at the instant, when I perceived the horse riding over me (for being at my heeles, I chanced to espy him, and helde my selfe for dead; yet was the conceit so sudden, that feare had no leasure to enter my thoughts) me seemed it was a flashing or lightning, that smote my soule with shaking, and that I came from another world. This discourse of so slight an accident, is but vaine and frivolous, were not the instructions I have drawne from thence for my use: For truly, for a man to acquaint himselfe with death, I finde no better way than to approach unto it. Now as *Plinie* saith, every man is a good discipline unto himselfe, alwayes provided he be able to prie into himselfe. This is not my doctrine, it is but my study; And not another mans lesson, but mine owne; Yet ought no man to blame me if I impart the same. What serves my turne, may haply serve another mans; otherwise I marre nothing; what I make use of, is mine owne; And if I play the foole, it is at mine owne cost, and without any other bodies interest. For it is but a kind of folly, that dyes in me, and hath no traine. We have notice but of two or three former ancients, that have trodden

The
 accident
 turned to
 account

Montaigne's
aim is
himself

this path; yet can we not say, whether altogether like unto this of mine, for we know but their names. No man since hath followed their steps: it is a thorny and crabbed enterprise, and more than it makes shew of, to follow so strange and vagabond a path, as that of our spirit: to penetrate the shady, and enter the thicke-covered depths of these internall winding cranks; To chuse so many, and settle so severall aires of his agitations: And tis a new extraordinary ammus-ing, that distracts us from the common occupation of the world, yea and from the most recommended: Many yeares are past since I have no other aime, whereto my thoughts bend, but my selfe, and that I controule and study nothing but my selfe. And if I study any thing else, it is immediatly to place it upon, or to say better, in my selfe. And me thinkes I erre not, as commonly men doe in other sciences, without all comparison lesse profitable. I impart what I have learn't by this, although I greatly content not my selfe with the progresse I have made therein. *There is no description so hard, nor so profitable, as is the description of a mans owne life;* Yet must a man handsomely trimme-up, yea and dispose and range himselfe to appeare on the Theatre of this world. Now I continually tricke up my selfe; for I uncessantly describe my selfe. Custome hath made a mans speech of himselfe vicious. And obstinately forbids it in hatred of boasting, which ever seemeth closely to follow ones selfe witnessses, whereas a man should wipe a childes

nose, that is now called to un-nose him-
selfe.

In viciū ducit culpa fuga.—HOR. *Art. Poet.* 31.

Some shunning of some sinne,
Doe draw some further in.

The wise
of old had
a similar
purpose

I finde more evill than good by this remedy :
But suppose it were true, that for a man to
entertaine the company with talking of himselfe,
were necessarily presumption : I ought not fol-
lowing my generall intent, to refuse an action
that publisheth this crazed quality, since I have
it in my selfe : and I should not conceale this
fault, which I have not only in use, but in pro-
fession. Neverthelesse to speake my opinion of
it, this custome to condemne wine is much to
blame, because many are therewith made drunke.
Only good things may be abused. And I be-
leeve this rule hath only regard to popular
defects : They are snaffles wherewith neither
Saints, nor Philosophers, nor Divines, whom
we heare so gloriously to speake of themselves,
will in any sort be bridled. No more doe I,
though I be no more the one than other. If
they write purposely or directly of it, yet when
occasion doth conveniently leade them unto it,
faine they not, headlong to cast themselves into
the lists ? Whereof doth *Socrates* treat more at
large, than of himselfe ? To what doth he more
often direct his Disciples discourses, than to
speake of themselves, not for their bookes lesson,
but of the essence and moving of their soule ?
We religiously shrive our selves to God and our
Confessor, as our neighbours to all the people :

'My art
and pro-
fession is
to live'

But will some answer me, we report but accusation; wee then report all: For, even our vertue it selfe is faulty and repentable; My art and profession, is to live. Who forbids me to speake of it, according to my sense, experience, and custome; Let him appoint the Architect to speake of buildings, not according to himselfe, but his neighbours, according to anothers skill, and not his owne. If it be a glory, for a man to publish his owne worth himselfe, why doth not *Cicero* prefer the eloquence of *Hortensius*, and *Hortensius* that of *Cicero*? Some may peradventure suppose that by deeds and effects, and not simply by words, I witnesse of my selfe. I principally set forth my cogitations; a shapelesse subject, and which cannot fall within the compasse of a worke-manlike production; with much adoe can I set it downe in this ayrie body of the voice. Wiser men, and more learned and devout, have lived avoiding all apparent effects. Effects would speake more of fortune, than of me. They witnesse their part, and not mine; unlesse it be conjecturally and uncertainly: Parcels of a particular shew: I wholly set forth and expose my selfe: It is a *Sceletos*; where at first sight appeare all the vaines, muskles, gristles, sinnewes, and tendons, each severall part in his due place. The effect of the cough produceth one part, that of palenesse or panting of the heart another, and that doubtfully. I write not my gestic, but my selfe and my essence. I am of opinion that a man must be very wise to esteeme himselfe,

and equally consciencious to give testimony of it: be it low, be it high indifferently. If I did absolutely seeme good and wise unto my selfe, I would boldly declare it. To speake lesse of himselfe than he possesseth, is folly and not modesty. To pay himselfe for lesse than he is worth, is basenesse and pusillanimity, saith *Aristotle*. No vertue aids it selfe with false-hood; and truth is never a matter of errour. And yet for a man to say more of himselfe, than he can well prove, is not ever presumption, though often sottishnesse. For a man to over-weene, and please himselfe exceedingly with what he is, and fall into indiscreet love with himselfe, is in my conceit, the substance of this vice. The best remedy to cure him, is to doe cleane contrary to that which those appoint, who in forbidding men to speake of themselves, doe consequently also inhibit more to thinke of themselves. *Pride consisteth in conceit*: The tongue can have no great share in it. For one to amuse on himselfe, is in their imagination to please himselfe: And for a man to frequent and practise himselfe, is at an over-deare rate to please himselfe. But this excesse doth only breed in them, that but superficially feele and search themselves, that are scene to follow their affaires, which call idlenesse and fondnesse, for a man to entertaine, to applaud and to endear himselfe, and frame Chimeraes, or build Castles in the ayre; deeming themselves as a third person and strangers to themselves. If any be besotted with his owne knowledge, looking upon

A man
should
justly
value
himself

The knowledge of self himselfe, let him cast his eyes towards former ages, his pride shall be abated; his ambition shall be quailed; for there shall he finde many thousands of spirits, that will cleane suppress and tread him under. If he fortune to enter into any self-presumption of his owne worth, let him but call to remembrance the lives of *Scipio* and *Epaminondas*; so many armies, and so many Nations, which leave him so far behind them. No particular quality shall make him proud, that therewith shall reckon so many imperfect and weake qualities that are in him, and at last the nullity of humane condition. Forso-much as *Socrates* had truly only nibled on the precept of his God, to know himselfe, and by that study had learned to contemne himselfe, he alone was esteemed worthy of the name of Wise. Whosoever shall so know himselfe, let him boldly make himselfe knowne by his owne mouth.

CHAP. VII

Of the recompences or rewards of Honour

THOSE which write the life of *Augustus Caesar*, note this in his military discipline, that he was exceeding liberall and lavish in his gifts to such as were of any desert; but as sparing and strait-handed in meere recompences of honour. Yet is it that himselfe had beene liberally gratified by his Unkle with

militarie rewards, before ever he went to warres. It hath beene a witty invention, and received in most parts of the worlds Common-wealths, to establish and ordaine certaine vaine and worthles markes, therewith to honor and recompence vertue: As are the wreathes of Lawrell, the Chaplets of Oake, and the Garlands of Myrtle, the forme of a certaine peculiar garment; the privilege to ride in Coach thorow the City; or by night to have a Torch carried before one; some particular place to sit in in common assemblies; the prerogatives of certaine surnames and titles, and proper additions in armes, and such like things; the use whereof hath beene diversely received according to the opinions of Nations, which continueth to this day. We have for our part, together with divers of our neighbour-Nation, the orders of Knight-hood, which only were established to this purpose. Verily it is a most laudable use, and profitable custome, to finde meanes to reward the worth, and acknowledge the valour of rare and excellent men, to satisfie and content them with such payments, as in no sort charge the common-wealth, and put the Prince to no cost at all. And that which was ever knowne by ancient experience, and at other times we have plainly perceived amongst our selves, that men of qualitie, were ever more jealous of such recompences, than of others, wherein was both gain and profit: which was not without reason and great apparence. If to the prize, which ought simply to be of honour, there be other com-

Wreaths,
and
Orders of
Knight-
hood

Money
is a less
noble
reward

dities and riches joyned, this kinde of commixing, in stead of encreasing the estimation thereof, doth empaire, dissipate, and abridge it. The order of the Knights of Saint *Michael* in *France*, which of so long continuance hath beene in credit amongst us, had no greater commoditie than that it had no manner of communication with any other advantage or profit, which hath heretofore beene the cause, that there was no charge or state of what quality soever, whereto the nobilitie pretended with so much desire, or aspired with more affection, as it did to obtaine that order; nor calling, that was followed with more respect or greatnesse. Vertue embracing with more ambition, and more willingly aspiring after a recompence, that is meerly and simply her owne, and which is rather glorious, than profitable. For, to say truth, other gifts have no use so worthy; inasmuch, as they are employed to all manner of occasions. With riches a man doth reward the service of a groome, the diligence of a messenger; the hopping of a dancer, the tricks of a vaulter, the breath of a Lawyer, and the basest offices a man may receive; yea, with the same paultry pelfe mony, vice is payed and sinne requited, as flatterey, murther, treason, *Maquordage*, and what not? It is then no marvell, if vertue doth lesse willingly desire this kinde of common trash, mony, than that which is onely proper and peculiar to her selfe, and is altogether noble and generous. *Augustus* had therefore reason, to be much more niggardly and sparing of this last, than of the former,

forasmuch as honour is a privilege which drawes his principal essence from rarenesse: And so doth vertue itselſe.

Rewards
attach
only to
rare
actions

Cui malus est nemo, quis bonus esse potest?

—MARC. xii. *Epig.* lxxii. u.

To him who good can seeme,
Who doth none bad esteeme?

We shall not see a man highly regarded, or extraordinarily commended, that is curiously carefull to have his children well nurtured, because it is a common action, how just and worthy praise soever it be: no more than one great tree, where the forrest is full of such. I doe not thinke that any Spartane Citizen did boastingly glorifie himselfe for his valor, because it was a popular vertue in that Nation: And as little for his fidelity, and contempt of riches. There is no recompence falls unto vertue, how great soever it be, if it once have past into custome: And I wot not whether we might call it great, being common. Since then the rewards of honour, have no other prize and estimation than that few enjoy it, there is no way to disannull them, but to make a largesse of them. Were there now more men found deserving the same than in former ages, yet should not the reputation of it be corrupted. And it may easily happen that more deserve it: For, there is no vertue, doth so easily spread it selfe as military valiancie. There is another, true, perfect, and Philosophicall; whereof I speake not (I use this word according to our custome) farre greater and more fall than this,

The
Order
of S.
Michael

120112

which is a force and assurance of the soule, equally contemning all manner of contrarie accidents, upright, uniforme, and constant, whereof ours is but an easie and glimmering raie. Customs, institution, example and fashion, may effect what ever they list in the establishing of that I speake of, and easily make it vulgare, as may plainly bee scene by the experience our civill warres give us of it. And whosoever could now joyne us together, and eagerly flesh all our people to a common enterprise, we should make our ancient military name and chivalrous credit to flourish againe. It is most certaine that the recompence of our order did not in former times only concerne prowis, and respect valour; it had a further aime. It was never the reward or payment of a valiant souldier; but of a famous Captaine. The skill to obey could not deserve so honorable an hire: for, cast we backe our eyes to antiquity, we shall perceive, that for the worthy obtaining thereof, there was required more universall warre-like expertnesse, and which might imbrace the greatest part, and most parts of a military man; *Neque enim eadem militares et imperatorias artes sunt;* For the same arts and parts belong not to a generall and common Souldier; and who besides that, should also bee of a fit and accommodable condition for such a dignitie. But I say, that if more men should now adayes be found worthy of it, than have beene heretofore, yet should not our Princes be more liberall of it: and it had beene much better, not to bestow it

upon all them to whom it was due, than for ever to lose; (as of late we have done) the use of so profitable an invention. *No man of courage vouchsafeth to advantage himselfe of that which is common unto many.* And those which in our dayes, have least merited that honourable recompence, seeme, in all apparence, most to disdain it, by that meanes to place themselves in the ranke of those to whom the wrong is offered by unworthy bestowing and vilifying of that badge, which particularly was due unto them. Now by defacing and abolishing this to suppose, suddenly to be able to bring into credit, and renew a semblable custome, is no convenient enterprise, in so licentious, so corrupted, and so declining an age, as is this wherein we now live. And it will come to passe that the last shall even from her birth incur the incommodities, which have lately ruined and overthrowne the other. The rules of this new orders-dispensation had need to be otherwise wrested and constrained, for to give it authority: and this tumultuous season is not capable of a short and ordered bridle. Besides, before a man is able to give credit unto it, it is requisite a man lose the memory of the first, and of the contempt whereinto it is fallen. This place might admit some discourse upon the consideration of valour, and difference betweene this vertue and others: But *Plutarch* having often spoken of this matter, it were in vaine here for mee to repeat what he sayes of it. This is worthy to be considered, that our nation giveth the chiefe preheminance of all vertue unto vali-

Worth of
military
valour

ancie, as the Etymology of the word sheweth, which commeth of valour, or worth: and that according to our received custome, when after the phrase of our court and nobility we speake of a worthy man, or of an honest man, we thereby inferre no other thing than a valiant man; after the usuall Roman fashion. For, the generall denomination of vertue doth amongst them take her Etymology, of force or might. The only proper and essentiall forme of our nobility in *France*, is military vocation. It is very likely, that the first vertue that ever appeared amongst men, and which to some hath given preheminence over others, hath beene this by which the strongest and more couragious have become masters over the weakest, and purchased a particular ranke and reputation to themselves; Whereby this honour and dignity of speech is left unto it: or else these nations being very warlike, have given the price unto that of vertues, which was the worthiest and more familiar unto them. Even as our passion, and this heart-panting, and mind-verging carefull diligence, and diligent carefulnesse, which we continually apprehend about womens chastity, causeth; also that a good woman, an honest woman, a woman of honour and vertue, doth in effect and substance, signifie no other thing unto us, than a chaste wife or woman; as if to bind them to this duty, we did neglect all others, and gave them free liberty to commit any other fault, to covenant with them, never to quit or forsake this one.

CHAP. VIII

Of the affection of fathers to their children
To the Lady of Estissac

MADAME, if strangenesse doe not save, or novelty shield mee, which are wont to give things reputation, I shall never, with honesty, quit my selfe of this enterprise; yet is it so fantastickall, and beares a shew so different from common custome, that that may haply purchase it free passage. It is a melancholy humor, and consequently a hatefull enemy to my naturall complexion, bred by the anxietie, and produced by the anguish of carking care, whereinto some yeares since I cast my selfe, that first put this humorous conceipt of writing into my head. And finding my selfe afterward wholly unprovided of subject, and void of other matter; I have presented my selfe unto my selfe for a subject to write, and argument to descant upon. It is the only booke in the world of this kinde, and of a wilde extravagant designe. Moreover, there is nothing in it worthy the marking but this fantasticalnesse. For, to so vaine a ground and base a subject, the worlds best workman, could never have given a fashion deserving to be accompted of. Now (worthy Lady) sithence I must pourtray my selfe to the life, I should have forgotten a part of importance, if therewithall I had not represented the honour I have ever yeelded to your deserts,

Montaigne's
opinion
of his
Essays

A compliment
to the
Lady of
Estissac

which I have especially beene willing to declare in the forefront of this Chapter ; Forasmuch as amongst your other good parts, and commendable qualities, that of loving amity, which you have shewen to your children, holdeth one of the first rankes. Whosoever shall understand and know the age, wherein your late husband the Lord of *Estissac* left you a Widdow, the great and honorable matches have beene offered you (as worthy and as many as to any other Lady in *France* of your condition) the constant resolution, and resolute constancie, wherewith so many yeares you have sustained, and even in spight, or athwart so manifold thorny difficulties ; the charge and conduct of their affaires, which have tossed, turmoyled and removed you in all corners of *France*, and still hold you besieged ; the happy and successfull forwardnes you, which only through your wisdome or good fortune, have given them, he will easily say with mee, that in our age we have no patterne of motherly affection more exemplare, than yours. I praise God (Madam) it hath beene so well employed : For, the good hopes, which the young Lord of *Estissac*, your sonne giveth of himselfe, fore-shew an undoubted assurance, that when he shall come to yeares of discretion, you shall reape the obedience of a noble, and finde the acknowledgement of a good childe. But because, by reason of his child-hood, he could not take notice of the exceeding kindnesse and many-fold offices he hath received from you, my meaning is, that if ever these my compo-

sitions shall haply one day come into his hands (when peradventure I shall neither have mouth nor speech to declare it unto him) he receive this testimonie in all veritie from me; which shall also more lively be testified unto him by the good effects, (whereof, if so it please God, he shall have a sensible feeling) that there is no Gentleman in *France*, more indebted to his mother, than he; and that hereafter he cannot yeeld a more certaine prooffe of his goodnes, and testimonie of his vertue, than in acknowledging and confessing you for such. If there be any truly-naturall law, that is to say, any instinct, universally and perpetually imprinted, both in beasts and us, (which is not without contro-versie) I may, according to mine opinion, say, that next to the care, which each living creature hath to his preservation, and to flee what doth hurt him; the affection which the engenderer beareth his off-spring, holds the second place in this ranke. And forasmuch as nature seemeth to have recommended the same unto us, ayming to extend, encrease, and advance, the successive parts or parcels of this her frame. It is no wonder if back-againe it is not so great from children unto fathers. This other Aristotelian consideration remembred: *That hee who doth benefit another, loveth him better than hee is beloved of him againe*: And hee to whom a debt is owing, loveth better, than hee that oweth: And every workman loveth his worke better, than hee should bee beloved of it againe, if it had sense or feeling. Forasmuch as we love

Love of
parents
unto
children.

It is more blessed to give than to receive to be; and being consisteth in moving and action. Therefore is every man, in some sort or other in his owne workmanship. *Whosoever doth a good deed, exerciseth a faire and honest action: Whosoever receiveth, exerciseth only a profitable action.* And profit is nothing so much to be esteemed or loved as honesty. Honesty is firme and permanent, affording him that did it, a constant gratification. Profit is very slipperie, and easily lost, nor is the memorie of it so sweet, or so fresh. Such things are dearest unto us, that have cost us most: And to give, is of more cost than to take. Since it hath pleased God to endow us with some capacitie of discourse, that as beasts we should not servily be subjected to common lawes, but rather with judgement and voluntary liberty apply our selves unto them; we ought somewhat to yeeld unto the simple auctoritie of Nature: but not suffer her tyrannically to carry us away: only reason ought to have the conduct of our inclinations. As for me, my tast is strangely distasted to it's propensions, which in us are produced without the ordinance and direction of our judgement. As upon this subject I speak of, I cannot receive this passion, wherewith some embrace children scarcely borne, having neither motion in the soule, nor forme well to be distinguished in the body, whereby they might make themselves lovely or amiable. And I could never well endure to have them brought up or nursed neere about me. A true and well ordered affection ought to be borne

and augmented, with the knowledge they give us of themselves; and then, if they deserve it (natural inclination marching hand in hand with reason) to cherish and make much of them, with a perfect fatherly love and loving friendship, and conformably to judge of them if they be otherwise, alwayes yeelding our selves unto reason, notwithstanding natural power. For the most part, it goeth cleane contrary, and commonly we feele our selves more moved with the sports, idlenesse, wantonnesse, and infantile trifles of our children, than afterward we do with all their actions, when they bee men: As if we had lozed them for our pastimes, as we do apes, monckies, or perokitoes, and not as man. And some that liberally furnish them with sporting bables while they be children, will miserably pinch it in the least expence for necessities when they grow men. Nay, it seemeth that the jelousie we have to see them appeare into, and injoy the world, when we are ready to leave them, makes us more sparing and close-handed toward them. It vexeth and grieteth us when we see them following us at our heeles, supposing they sollicite us to be gone hence: And if we were to feare that since the order of things beareth, that they cannot indeed, neither be, nor live, but by our being and life, we should not meddle to be fathers. As for mee, I deeme it a kind of cruelty and injustice, not to receive them into the share and society of our goods, and to admit them as Partners in the understanding of our domestical affaires (if they

Parental
duties

be once capable of it } and not to cut off and
 shut-up our commodities to provide for theirs;
 since we have engendred them to that purpose.
 It is meere injustice to see an old, crazed,
 sinow-shronken, and nigh dead father sitting
 alone in a Chimney-corner, to enjoy so many
 goods as would suffice for the preferment and
 entertainment of many children, and in the
 meane while, for want of meanes, to suffer
 them to lose their best dayes and yeares, with-
 out thrusting them into publike service and know-
 ledge of men; whereby they are often cast into
 diapaire, to seeke, by some way how unlawfull
 soever to provide for their necessities. And
 in my dayes, I have seene divers yong-men, of
 good houses so given to stealing and filching,
 that no correction could divert them from it.
 I know one very well alied, to whom, at the
 instance of a brother of his (a most honest,
 gallant, and vertuous Gentleman) I spake to
 that purpose, who boldly answered and con-
 fessed unto me, that only by the rigor and
 covetise of his father he had beene forced and
 driven to fall into such lewdnesse and wicked-
 nesse. And even at that time he came from
 stealing certaine jewels from a Lady, in whose
 bed-chamber he fortun'd to come with certaine
 other Gentlemen when she was rising, and had
 almost beene taken. He made me remember
 a tale I had heard of another Gentleman, from
 his youth so fashioned and inclined to this
 goodly trade of pilfering, that comming after-
 ward to be heire and Lord of his owne goods,

resolved to give over that manner of life, could notwithstanding (if he chanced to come neere a shop, where he saw any thing he stood in need of) not chuse but steale the same, though afterward he would ever send mony and pay for it. And I have seene diverse so inured to that vice, that amongst their companions, they would ordinarily steale such things, as they would restore againe. I am a Gascoine, and there is no vice wherein I have lesse skill: I hate it somewhat more by complexion, than I accuse it by discourse. I doe not so much as desire another mans goods'

And although my Countrey-men be indeed somewhat more taxed with this fault, than other Provinces of *France*, yet have we seene of late dayes, and that sundry times, men well borne and of good parentage in other parts of *France*, in the hands of justice, and lawfully convicted of many most horrible robberies. I am of opinion that in regard of these debauches and lewd actions, fathers may, in some sort, be blamed, and that it is only long of them. And if any shall answer me, as did once a Gentleman of good worth and understanding, that he thriftily endeavoured to hoard up riches, to no other purpose, nor to have any use and commodity of them, than to be honoured, respected and suingly sought unto by his friends and kinsfolkes, and that age having bereaved him of all other forces, it was the onely remedy he had left to maintaine himselfe in authority with his houshold, and keepe him from falling into con-

Sweet
reason-
ableness

tempt and disdain of all the world. And truly according to *Aristotle*, not only old-age, but each imbecillity, is the promoter, and motive of covetousnesse. That is something, but it is a remedy for an evill, whereof the birth should have beene hindered, and breeding avoyded. That father may truly be said miserable, that holdeth the affection of his children tied unto him by no other meanes than by the need they have of his helpe, or want of his assistance, if that may be termed affection: *A man should yeeld himselfe respectable by vertue and sufficiency, and amiable by his goodnesse, and gentlenesse of manners.* The very cinders of so rich a matter, have their value: so have the bones and reliques of honourable men, whom we hold in respect and reverence. No age can be so crazed and drooping in a man that hath lived honourably, but must needs prove venerable, and especially unto his children, whose mindes ought so to be directed by the parents, that reason and wisdom, not necessity and need, nor rudenesse and compulsion, may make them know and performe their dutie.

—*et errat longe, mea quidem sententia,
Qui imperium credat esse gravius aut stabilius,
Vt quod fit, quum illud quod amicitia adiungitur.*

—*TERT. Adelp. act. i. sce. i. 39.*

In mine opinion he doth much mistake,
Who, that command more grave, more firme doth take,
Which force doth get, than that which friendships make.

I utterly condemne all manner of violence ^{Montaigne's} in the education of a young spirit, brought up to honour and liberty. There is a kind of slavishnesse in churlish-rigor, and servility in compulsion; and I hold, that *that which cannot be compassed by reason, wisdom and discretion, can never be attained by force and constraint.* So was I brought up: they tell mee, that in all my youth, I never felt rod but twice, and that very lightly. And what education I have had my selfe, the same have I given my children. But such is my ill hap, that they dye all very yong: yet hath *Leonora* my only daughter escaped this misfortune, and attained to the age of six yeares, and somewhat more: for the conduct of whose youth, and punishment of her childish faults (the indulgence of her mother applying it selfe very mildely unto it) was never other meanes used but gentle words. And were my desire frustrate, there are diverse other causes to take hold of, without reproving my discipline, which I know to be just and naturall. I would also have beene much more religious in that towards male-children, not borne to serve as women, and of a freer condition. I should have loved to have stored their minde with ingenuity and liberty. I have seene no other effects in rods, but to make childrens mindes more remisse, or more maliciously head-strong. Desire we to be loved of our children? Will we remove all occasions from them to wish our death? (although no occasion of so horrible and unnaturall wishes,

Early marriage
disapproved

can either be just or excusable) *nullum scelus rationem habet*, no ill deed hath a good reason.

Let us reasonably accommodate their life, with such things as are in our power. And therefore should not we marry so young, that our age do in a manner confound it selfe with theirs. For, this inconvenience doth unavoidably cast us into many difficulties, and encombrances. This I speake; chiefly unto nobility, which is of an idle disposition, or loitering condition, and which (as we say) liveth only by her lands or rents: for else, where life standeth upon gaine; plurality and company of children is an easefull furtherance of husbandry. They are as many new implements to thrive, and instruments to grow rich. I was married at thirty yeares of age, and commend the opinion of thirty-five, which is said to be *Aristotles*. *Plato* would have no man married before thirty, and hath good reason to scoffe at them that will defer it till after fifty-five, and then marry; and condemneth their breed as unworthy of life and sustenance. *Thales* appointed the best limits, who by his mother, being instantly urged to marry whilst he was young, answered that it was not yet time; and when he came to be old, he said, it was no more time. A man must refuse opportunity to every importunate action. The ancient *Gauls* deemed it a shamefull reproach, to have the acquaintance of a woman before the age of twenty yeares; and did especially recommend unto men that sought

to be trained up in warres, the carefull preservation of their maiden-head, untill they were of good yeares, forsomuch as by losing it in youth, courages are therby much weakned and greatly empai red, and by copulation with women, diverted from all vertuous action.

Strength
of cleanness

Ma hor agiunto à giovinetta sposa,

Lieto homai de' figli' era invilito

Ne gli affetti di padre et di marito.

But now conjoyn'd to a fresh-springing spouse,

Joy'd in his children, he was thought-abased,

In passions twixt a Sire, and husband placed.

Muleasses King of *Thunes*, he whom the Emperour *Charles* the fifth restored unto his owne state againe, was wont to upbraid his fathers memorie, for so dissolutely frequenting of women, terming him a sloven, effeminate, and a lustfull engenderer of children. The Greeke story dooth note *Iecus* the *Tarentine*, *Chryso*, *Astylus*, *Diopomus* and others, who to keep their bodies tough and strong for the service of the Olympicke courses, wrestlings and such bodily exercises, they did, as long as they were possessed with that care, heede-fully abstaine from all venereal acts, and touching of women. In a certaine country of the Spanish *Indies*, no man was suffered to take a wife, before he were fortie yeares old, and women might marry at ten yeares of age. There is no reason, neither is it convenient, that a Gentleman of five and thirtie yeares, should give place to his sonne, that is but twenty: For then

Learn is the father as seemely, and may aswell appeare,
 how to and set himselfe forward, in all manner of
 voyages of warrea, aswell by land as sea, and
 doe his Prince as good service, in court, or else-
 where, as his sonne: He hath need of all his
 parts, and ought truly to impart them, but so,
 that he forget not himselfe for others: And to
 such may justly that answer serve, which fathers
 have commonly in their mouthes: *I will not
 put off my clothes before I be ready to goe to
 bed.* But a father over-burthend with yeares,
 and crazed through sicknesse, and by reason of
 weaknesse and want of health, barred from the
 common societie of men, doth both wrong him-
 selfe, injure his, idely and to no use to hoord
 up, and keepe close a great heape of riches, and
 deale of pelfe. He is in state good enough, if
 he be wise to have a desire to put off his clothes
 to goe to bed. I will not say to his shirt, but
 to a good warme night-gowne: As for other
 pompe and trash whereof hee hath no longer
 use or need; hee ought willingly to distribute
 and bestow them amongst those, to whom by
 naturall decree they ought to belong. It is
 reason he should have the use, and bequeath the
 fruition of them, since nature doth also deprive
 him of them, otherwise without doubt there is
 both envy and malice stirring. The worthiest
 action, that ever the Emperour *Charles* the fifth
 performed was this, in imitation of some ancients
 of his quality, that he had the discretion to
 know, that reason commanded us, to strip or
 shift our selves when our clothes trouble and

are too heavy for us, and that it is high time to goe to bed, when our legs faile us. He resigned his meanes, his greatnesse and Kingdome to his Sonne, at what time he found his former undanted resolution to decay, and force to conduct his affaires, to droope in himselfe, together with the glory he had thereby acquired.

*Solve senescentem mature sanus equum, ne
Peccet ad extremum ridendus, et ista ducat.*

—HOR. i. Ep. 1. 8.

If you be wise, the horse growne-old betimes
cast-off,
Lest he at last fall lame, foulter, and breed a
shoffe.

This fault, for a man not to be able to know himselfe betimes, and not to feele the impuissance and extreme alteration, that age doth naturally bring, both to the body and the minde (which in mine opinion is equall, if the minde have but one halfe) hath lost the reputation of the most part of the greatest men in the world. I have in my dayes both seene and familiarly knowen some men of great authority, whom a man might easily discerne, to be strangely fallen from that ancient sufficiency, which I know by the reputation they had thereby attained unto in their best yeares. I could willingly for their honors sake have wisht them at home about their owne businesse, discharged from all negotiations of the commonwealth and employments of war, that were no longer fit for them. I

Children
should be
enured
early

have sometimes beene familiar in a Gentlemans house, who was both an old man and a widdower, yet lusty of his age. This man had many daughters marriageable, and a sonne growne to mans state, and ready to appeare in the world; a thing that drew-on, and was the cause of great charges, and many visitations, wherein he tooke but little pleasure, not only for the continuall care hee had to save, but more by reason of his age, hee had betaken himselfe to a manner of life farre different from ours. I chanced one day to tell him somewhat boldly (as my custome is) that it would better beseeeme him to give us place, and resigne his chiefe house to his sonne (for he had no other mannor-house conveniently well furnished) and quietly retire himselfe to some farme of his, where no man might trouble him, or disturbe his rest, since he could not otherwise avoid our importunitie, seeing the condition of his children; who afterward followed my counsell, and found great ease by it. It is not to be said, that they have any thing given them by such a way of obligation, which a man may not recall againe: I, that am ready to play such a part, would give over unto them the full possession of my house, and enjoying of my goods, but with such libertie and limited condition, as if they should give me occasion, I might repent my selfe of my gift, and revoke my deed. I would leave the use and fruition of all unto them, the rather because it were no longer fit for me to weald the same. And touching the disposing of all matters in

grosce, I would reserve what I pleased unto my selfe. Having ever judged, that it must be a great contentment to an aged father, himselfe to direct his children in the government of his household affaires, and to be able whilst himselfe liveth, to checke and controule the demeanors, storing them with instruction and advised counsell, according to the experience he hath had of them, and himselfe to addresse the ancient honour and order of his house in the hands of his successours, and that way warrant himselfe of the hopes hee may conceive of their future conduct and after successe. And to this effect, I would not shun their company. I would not be far from them, but as much as the condition of my age would permit, enjoy and be a partner of their sports, mirths, and feasts. If I did not continually live amongst them (as I could not wel without offending their meetings and hindering their recreation, by reason of the peevish frowardnesse of my age, and the trouble of my infirmities, and also without forcing their rules, and resisting the forme of life, I should then follow) I would at least live neere them, in some corner of my house, not the best and fairest in shew, but the most easefull and commodious. And not as some yeares since, I saw a Deane of *S. Hillarie* of Pointiers, reduced by reason and the incommodities of his melancholy to such a continuall solitarinesse, that when I entered into his chamber he had never removed one step out of it in two and twenty yeares before: yet had all his faculties free and

to the
manage-
ment of
affairs

The name of Father eazie, onely a rheume excepted that fell into his stomacke. Scarse once a weeke would he suffer any body to come and see him. Hee would ever be shut up in his chamber all alone, where no man should come, except a boy, who once a day brought him meat, and who might not tarry there, but as soone as he was in, must goe out againe. All his exercise was sometimes to walke up and downe his chamber, and now and then reade on some booke (for he had some understanding of letters) but obstinately resolved to live and dye in that course, as he did shortly after. I would endeavour by a kinde of civill demeanour and milde conversation, to breede and settle in my children a true-harty-loving friendship, and unfained good will towards me. A thing easily obtained amongst well-borne mindes; For, if they prove, or be such surly-farious beasts, or given to churlish disobedience, as our age bringeth forth thousands, they must as beasts be hated, as churls neglected, and as degenerate avoided. I hate this custome, to forbid children to call their fathers father, and to teach them another strange name, as of more reverence: As if nature had not sufficiently provided for our authoritie. We call God-almighty by the name of father, and disdain our children should call us so. I have reformed this fault in mine owne houshold. It is also folly and injustice to deprive children, especially being of competent age, of their fathers familiaritie, and ever to shew them a surly, austere, grim, and disdainfull countenance, hoping there-

by to keepe them in awfull feare and dateous obedience. For, it is a very unprofitable proceeding, and which maketh fathers yrkesome unto children; and which is worse, ridiculous. They have youth and strength in their hands, and consequently, the breath and favour of the world; and doe with mockerie and contempt receive these churlish fierce, and tyrannicall countenances, from a man that hath no lusty blood left him, neither in his heart, nor in his vaines; meere bug-beares, and scar-crowes, to scare birdes with all. If it lay in my power to make my selfe feared, I had rather make my selfe beloved. There are so many sorts of defects in age, and so much impuissance: It is so subject to contempt, that the best purchase it can make, is the good will, love and affection of hers. Commandement and feare are no longer her weapons. I have knowen one whose youth had beene very imperious and rough, but when he came to mans age, although hee live in as good plight and health as may be, yet he chafeth, he scoldeth, he brawleth, he fighteth, he sweareth, and biteth, as the most boistrous and tempestuous master of *France*, he frets and consumes himselfe with carke and care and vigilancy (al which is but a juggling and ground for his [familie] to play upon, and cozen him the more) as for his goods, his garners, his cellars, his coffers, yea his purse, whilst himselfe keeps the keyes of them close in his bosome, and under his boulder, as charily as he doth his eyes, other enjoy and command the better part

Mod-
tigne:
had
rather be
loved
than
feared

Montaigne's choice of them; whilst he pleaseth and flattereth himselfe, with the niggardly sparing of his table, all goth to wracke, and is lavishly wasted in divers corners of his house, in play, in riotous spending, and in soothingly entertaining the accompts or tales of his vaine chafing, foresight and providing. Every man watcheth and keepeth sentinell against him, if any silly or heedlesse servant doe by fortune apply himselfe unto it, he is presently made to suspect him: A quality on which age doth immediately bite of it selfe. How many times hath he vaunted and applauding himselfe told me of the strict orders of his house, of his good husbandry, of the awe he kept his household in, and of the exact obedience, and regardfull reverence he received of all his family, and how cleare-sighted he was in his owne businesse:

Ille solus nescit omnia.

—TER. *Adel.* act. iv. scen. ii. 9.

Of all things none but he,
Most ignorant must be.

I know no man that could produce more parts, both naturall and artificiall, fit to preserve his masterie, and to maintaine his absolutenesse, than he doth; yet is hee cleane false from them like a childe. Therefore have I made choice of him, amongst many such conditions that I know; as most exemplare. It were a matter becomming a scholasticall question, whether it be better so, or otherwise. In his presence all things give place unto him. This

vaine course is ever left unto his authority, that he is never gaine-said. He is had in awe, he is feared, he is beleevd, he is respected, his belly-full. Doth he discharge any boy or servant? he presently trusseth up his packe, then is he gone; but whither? onely out of his sight, not out of his house. The steps of age are so slow, the senses so troubled, the minde so distracted, that he shall live and doe his office, a whole yeare in one same house, and never be perceived. And when fit time or occasion serveth, Letters are produced from farre places, humbly suing, and pittifully complaying, with promises to doe better, and to amend, by which he is brought into favour and office againe. Doth the master make any bargaine, or dispatch that pleaseth not? it is immediatly smothered and suppressed, soone after forging causes, and devising colourable excuses, to excuse the want of execution or answer. No forraine Letters being first presented unto him, he seeth but such as are fit for his knowledge. If peradventure they come unto his hands, as he that trusteth some one of his men to reade them unto him, he will presently devise what he thinketh good, whereby they often invent, that such a one seemeth to aske him forgiveness, that wrongeth him by his Letter. To conclude, he never lookes into his owne businesse, but by a disposed, designed and as much as may be pleasing image, so contrived by such as are about him, because they will not stirre up his choler, move his impatience, and exasperate his frowardnesse. I

of an
example

Repro- have scene under different formes, many long
 sensible and constant, and of like effect economies. It
 wives is ever proper unto women, to be readily bent
 to contradict and crosse their husbands. They
 will with might and maine hand over head, take
 hold of any colour to thwart and withstand
 them: the first excuse they meet with, serves
 them as a plenary justification. I have scene
 some, that would in grosse steale from their
 husbands, to the end (as they told their Con-
 fessors) they might give the greater almes.
 Trust you to such religious dispensations. They
 thinke no liberty to have, or managing to pos-
 sease sufficient authority, if it come from their
 husbands consent: They must necessarily usurpe
 it, either by wily craft or maine force, and ever
 injuriously, thereby to give it more grace and
 authoritie. As in my Discourse, when it is
 against a poore old man, and for children, then
 take they hold of this Title, and therewith
 gloriously serve their turne and passion, and as
 in a common servitude, easily usurpe and mono-
 polize against his government and domination.
 If they be men-children, tall, of good spirit and
 forward, then they presently suborne, either by
 threats, force or favour, both Steward, Bailiffe,
 Clarke, Receiver, and all the Fathers Officers,
 and Servant. Such as have neither wife nor
 children, doe more hardly fall into this mis-
 chiefe: but yet more cruelly and unworthily.
 Old *Cato* was wont to say, *So many servants, so
 many enemies.* Note whether according to the
 distance, that was betweene the purity of his age,

and the corruption of our times, he did not forewarne us, that *Wives, Children, and Servants are to us so many enemies*. Well fits it decrepitude to store us with the sweet benefit of ignorance and unperceiving facility wherewith we are deceived.

First cast
the beam
out of
thine
own eye

If we did yeeld unto it, what would become of us? Doe we not see that even then, if we have any suits in law, or matters to be decided before Judges, both Lawyers and Judges, will commonly take part with, and favour our childrens causes against us, as men interessed in the same? And if I chance not to spy, or plainly perceive how I am cheated, cozoned and beguiled, I must of necessitie discover in the end, how I am subject and maybe cheated, beguiled, and cozoned. And shall the tongue of man ever bee able to expresse the unvaluable worth of a friend, in comparison of these civill bonds? The lively image and Idea whereof, I perceive to be amongst beasts so unspotted. Oh with what religion doe I respect and observe the same! If others deceive me, yet do I not deceive my selfe, to esteeme my selfe capable, and of power to looke unto my selfe, nor to trouble my braines to yeeld my selfe unto it. I doe beware and keepe my selfe from such treasons, and canny-catching in mine owne bosome, not by an unquiet, and tumultuary curiosity, but rather by a diversion and resolution. When I heare the state of any one reported, or discoursed of, I amprise not my selfe on him, but presently cast mine eyes on

**Neglect-
his con-
duct of
Montluc** my selfe, and all my wits together, to see in what state I am, and how it goeth with me. Whatsoever concerneth him, the same hath relation to me. His fortunes forewarne me, and summon up my spirits that way. *There is no day nor houre, but we speake that of others, we might properly speake of our selves, could we as well enfold, as we can unfold our consideration.* And many Authours doe in this manner wound the protection of their cause, by over-rashly running against that which they take hold-of, thirling such darts at their enemies, that might with much more advantage be cast at them. The Lord of *Montluc*, late one of the Lord Marshalls of *France*, having lost his sonne, who died in the Island of *Madera* a worthy, forward and gallant young gentleman, and truely of good hope; amongst other his griefes and regrets, did greatly move me to condole, the infinite displeasure and hearts-sorrow that he felt, inas-much as he had never communicated and opened himselfe unto him; for, with his austere humour and continuall endeavoring to hold a grimme-stern-fatherly gravity over him, he had lost the meanes, perfectly to finde and throughly to know his sonne, and so to manifest unto him the extreme affection he bare him, and the worthy judgement he made of his vertue. Alas (was he wont to say) the poore lad saw never any thing in me, but a severe-early-countenance, full of disdaine, and haply was possessed with this conceit, that I could neither love nor esteeme him according to his merits. Ay-me,

to whom did I reserve, to discover that singular **Self-revelation** and loving affection, which in my soule I bare to friends unto him? Was it not he that should have had all the pleasure and acknowledgement thereof? I have forced and tormented my selfe to maintaine this vaine maske, and have utterly lost the pleasure of his conversation, and therewithal his good will, which surely was but faintly cold towards me, forsomuch as he never received but rude entertainment of mee, and never felt but a tyrannicall proceeding in me towards him. I am of opinion, his complaint was reasonable and well grounded. For, as I know by certaine experience, there is no comfort so sweet in the losse of friends, as that our owne knowledge or conscience tels us, we never omitted to tell them everything, and expostulate all matters unto them, and to have had a perfect and free communication with them. Tell me my good friend, am I the better or the worse by having a taste of it? Surely I am much the better. His grieffe doth both comfort and honour mee. Is it not a religious and pleasing office of my life, for ever to make the obsequies thereof? Can there be any pleasure worth this privation? I doe unfold and open my self as much as I can to mine owne people, and willingly declare the state of my will and judgment toward them, as commonly I doe towards all men: I make haste to produce and present my selfe, for I would have no man mistake me, in what part soever. Amongst other particular customes, which our ancient Gaules had, (as *Cesar* affirmeth) this was one,

Unequal
testa-
mentary
distribu-
tion

that children never came before their fathers, nor were in any publike assembly seene in their company, but when they began to beare armes; as if they would infer, that then was the time, fathers should admit them to their acquaintance and familiarity. I have also observed another kinde of indiscretion in some fathers of our times, who during their owne life, would never be induced to acquaint or impart unto their children, that share or portion, which by the Law of Nature, they were to have in their fortunes: Nay, some there are, who after their death bequeath and commit the same auctority, over them and their goods, unto their wives, with full power and law to dispose of them at their pleasure. And my selfe have knowne a Gentleman, a chiefe officer of our crowne, that by right and hope of succession (had he lived unto it) was to inherit above fifty thousand crownes a yeere good land, who at the age of more then fifty yeeres fell into such necessity and want, and was run so farre in debt, that he had nothing left him, and as it is supposed died for very need; whilest his mother in her extreme decrepitude, enjoyed all his lands and possessed all his goods, by vertue of his fathers will and testament, who had lived very neere foure-score years. A thing (in my conceit) no way to be commended, but rather blamed. Therefore doe I thinke, that a man but little advantaged or bettered in estate, who is able to live of himselfe, and is out of debt, especially if he have children, and goeth about

Father-
less sons

to marry a wife, that must have a great joynter out of his lands, assuredly there is no other debt, that brings more ruine unto houses then that. My predecessors have commonly followed this counsell, and so have I, and all have found good by it. But those that dissuade us from marrying of rich wives, lest they might proove over disdainfull and peevish, or lesse tractable and loving, are also deceived to make us neglect and for-goe a reall commoditie, for so frivolous a conjecture. To an unreasonable woman, it is all one cost to her, whether they passe under one reason, or under another. *They love to be where they are most wronged.* Injustice doth allure them; as the honour of their vertuous actions enticeth the good. And by how much richer they are, so much more milde and gentle are they: as more willingly and gloriously chaste, by how much fairer they are. Some colour of reason there is, men should leave the administration of their goods and affaires unto mothers, whilst their children are not of competent age, or fit according to the lawes to manage the charge of them: And ill hath their father brought them up, if he cannot hope, these comming to yeares of discretion, they shal have no more wit, reason, and sufficiencie, than his wife, considering the weaknesse of their sexe. Yet truly were it as much against nature, so to order things, that mothers must wholly depend of their childrens discretion. They ought largely and competently to be provided, where-with to maintaine their estate, according to the

Justice of
intestate
distribu-
tion

quality of their house and age: because *need and want is much more unseemely and hard to be indured in women, than in men*: And children rather than mothers ought to be charged therewith. In generall, my opinion is, that the best distribution of goods, is when we die, to distribute them according to the custome of the Country. The Lawes have better thought upon them than we: And better it is to let them erre in their election, than for us rashly to hazard to faile in ours. They are not properly our owne, since without us, and by a civil prescription, they are appointed to certaine successours. And albeit we have some further liberty, I thinke it should be a great and most apparant cause to induce us to take from one, and barre him from that, which Fortune hath allotted him, and the common Lawes and Justice hath called him unto: And that against reason wee abuse this liberty, by suting the same unto our private humours and frivolous fantasies. My fortune hath beene good, inasmuch as yet it never presented mee with any occasions, that might tempt or divert my affections from the common and lawful ordinance. I see some, towards whom it is but labour lost, carefully to endeavour to doe any good offices. *A word ill taken defaceth the merit of ten yeeres.* Happy he, that at this last passage is ready to soothe and applaud their will. The next action transporteth him; not the best and most frequent offices, but the freshest and present worke the deed. They are people that play with their wils and testaments, as with

apples and rods, to gratifie or chastize every action of those who pretend any interest thereunto. It is a matter of over-long pursute, and of exceeding consequence, at every instance to be thus dilated, and wherein the wiser sort establish themselves once for all, chiefly respecting reason, and publike observance. We somewhat over-much take these masculine substitutions to hart, and propose a ridiculous eternity unto our names. We also over-weight such vaine future conjectures, which infant-spirits give-us. It might peradventure have beene deemed injustice, to displace me from out my rancke, because I was the dullest, the slowest, the unwillingest, and most leaden-pated to learne my lesson or any good, that ever was, not onely of all my brethren, but of all the children in my Countrey; were the lesson concerning any exercise of the minde or body. It is follie to trie aie extraordinary conclusions upon the trust of their divinations, wherein we are so often deceived. If this rule may be contradicted, and the destinies corrected, in the choice they have made of our heires, with so much more apparence, may it be done in consideration of some remarkable and enormous corporall deformitie; a constant and incorrigible vice; and according to us great esteemers of beautie; a matter of important prejudice. The pleasant dialogue of *Plato* the law-giver, with his citizens, will much honor this passage. Why then (say they) perceiving their end to approach, shall we not dispose of that which is our owne, to whom and

Men-
taigne as
a boy

Advice of the Law-giver according as we please? Oh Gods what cruelty is this? That it shall not be lawfull for us, to give or bequeath more or lesse according to our fantasies, to such as have served us, and taken paines with us in our sicknesses, in our age, and in our busines? To whom the Law-giver answereth in this manner; My friends (saith he) who doubtlesse shall shortly die; it is a hard matter for you, both to know your selves, and what is yours, according to the *Delphike* inscription: As for me, who am the maker of your lawes, I am of opinion that neither your selves are your owne, nor that which you enjoy. And both you and your goods, past and to come, belong to your familie; and moreover both your families and your goods are the common wealths: Wherefore, lest any flatterer, either in your age, or in time of sicknes, or any other passion, should unadvisedly induce you to make any unlawfull conveyance or unjust will and testament, I will looke to you and keepe you from it. But having an especiall respect both to the universall interest of your Citie, and particular state of your houses, I will establish lawes, and by reason make you perceive and confesse that *a particular commoditie ought to yeeld to a publike benefit.* Follow that course meereley, whereto humane necessitie doth call you. To me it belongeth, who have no more regard to one thing, than to another, and who as much as I can, take care for the general, to have a regardfull respect of that which you leave behind you. But to returne to my former discourse, me thinkes, we

seldome see that woman borne, to whom the superioritie or majestie over men is due, except the motherly and naturall; unlesse it be for the chastisement of such, as by some fond-febricitant humor have voluntarily submitted themselves unto them: But that doth nothing concerne old women, of whom we speake here. It is the apparence of this consideration, hath made us to frame, and willingly to establish this law (never scene elsewhere) that barreth women from the succession of this crowne, and there are few principalities in the world, where it is not alleaged, aswel as here, by a likely and apparant reason, which authoriseth the same. But fortune hath given more credit unto it in some places, than in other some. It is dangerous to leave the dispensation of our succession unto their judgement, according to the choyse they shall make of their children, which is most commonly unjust and fantasticall. For, the same unrulie appetite, and distasted relish, or strange longings, which they have when they are great with child, the same have they at all times in their minds. They are commonly scene to affect the weakest, the simplest and most abject, or such (if they have any) that had more need to sucke. For, wanting reasonable discourse to chuse, and embrace what they ought, they rather suffer themselves to be directed, where natures impressions are most single, as other creatures, which take no longer knowledge of their young ones, than they are sucking. Moreover, experience doth manifestly shew unto

Women
are
guided by
sentiment

Goats as
foster-
mothers

us, that the same naturall affection, to which we ascribe so much authoritie, hath but a weake foundation. For a very small gaine, we daily take mothers owne children from them and induce them to take charge of ours; Doe we not often procure them to bequeath their children to some fond, filthie, sluttish, and unhealthie nurce, to whom we would be very loth to commit ours, or to some brutish Goat, not onely forbidding them to nurce and feed their owne children (what danger soever may betide them) but also to have any care of them, to the end they may the more diligently follow, and carefully attend the service of ours? Whereby wee soone see through custome a certaine kinde of bastard-affection to be engendred in them, more vehement than the naturall, and to be much more tender and carefull for the welfare and preservation of other mens children, than for their owne. And the reason why I have made mention of Goats, is, because it is an ordinarie thing round about me where I dwell, to see the countrie women, when they have not milke enough to feed their infants with their owne breasts, to call for Goats to helpe them. And my selfe have now two lackies wayting upon me, who except it were eight daies never suck't other milke than Goats; They are presently to come at call, and give young infants sucke, and become so well acquainted with their voice, that when they heare them crie, they runne forthwith unto them. And if by chance they have any other child put to their teats, than their nurceling, they refuse and reject

him, and so doth the childe a strange Goat. My selfe saw that one not long since, from whom the father tooke a Goat, which he had sucked two or three daies, because he had but borrowed it of one of his neighbours, who could never be induced to sucke any other, whereby he shortly died; and as I verily thinke, of meeere hangers. *Beasts as well as we doe some alter, and easily bastardize their naturall affection.* I beleeve, that in that, which *Herodotus* reporteth of a certaine province of *Libia*, there often followeth great error and mistaking. He saith, that men doe indifferently use, and as it were in common frequent women; And that the childe as soone as he is able to goe, comming to any solemne meetings and great assemblies, led by a naturall instinct, findeth out his owne father: where being turned loose in the midst of the multitude, looke what man the childe doth first addresse his steps unto, and then goe to him, the same is ever afterward reputed to be his right father. Now if we shall duly consider this simple occasion of loving our children, because we have begotten them, for which we call them our other selves. It seemes there is another production comming from us, and which is of no lesse commendation and consequence. For what we engender by the minde, the fruits of our courage, sufficiencie, or spirit; are brought forth by a far more noble part, than the corporall, and are more our owne. We are both father and mother together in this generation: such fruits cost us much dearer, and bring us more honour, and chiefly if they have any

A story
told by
Herodotus

Mutual
friendship
of fathers
and chil-
dren

good or rare thing in them. For the value of our other children, is much more theirs, than ours. The share we have in them is but little; but of these all the beautie, all the grace, and all the worth is ours. And therefore doe they represent, and resemble us much more lively than others. *Plato* addeth moreover, that these are immortall issues, and immortalize their fathers, yea and deifie them, as *Licurgus*, *Solon*, and *Minas*. All histories being full of examples of this mutuall friendship of fathers toward their children, I have not thought it amisse to set downe some choice one of this kinde. *Heliodorus* that good Bishop of *Tritea*, loved rather to lose the dignity, profit and devotion of so venerable a Prelateahip, than to for-goe his daughter, a young woman to this day commended for hir beautie, but haply somewhat more curiously and wantonly pranked-up than becomed the daughter of a churchman and a Bishop, and of over-amorous behaviour. There was one *Labienus* in *Rome*, a man of great worth and authority, and amongst other commendable qualities, most excellent in all maner of learning, who (as I thinke) was the sonne of that great *Labienus*, chiefe of all the captaines that followed and were under *Cesar* in the warres against the *Gaules*, and who afterward taking great *Pompeys* part, behaxed himselfe so valiantly and so constantly, that he never forsooke him untill *Cesar* defeated him in *Spaine*. This *Labienus* of whom I spake, had many that envied his vertues; But above all (as it is likely) courtiers,

and such as in his time were favored of the Emperors, who hated his franknesse, his fatherly humors, and distaste he bare still against tyrannie, wherewith it may be supposed he had stuffed his bookes and compositions. His adversaries vehemently pursued him before the Magistrate of *Rome*, and prevailed so far, that many of his works which he had published were condemned to be burned. He was the first on whom this new example of punishment was put in practice, which after continued long in *Rome*, and was executed on divers others, to punish learning, studies, and writings with death and consuming fire. There were neither meanes enough, or matter sufficient of cruelty, unlesse we had entermingled amongst them things, which nature hath exempted from all sense and sufferance, as reputation, and the inventions of our minde: and except we communicated corporall mischiefes unto disciplines and monuments of the Muses. Which losse *Labienus* could not endure, nor brooke to survive those his deare, and highly-esteemed issues: And therefore caused himselfe to be carried, and shut up alive within his ancestors monument, where, with a dreadlesse resolution, he at once provided, both to kill himselfe and be buried together. It is hard to shew any more vehement fatherly affection, than that. *Cassius Severus*, a most eloquent man, and his familiar friend, seeing his Bookes burnt, exclamed, that by the same sentence hee should therewithall be condemned to be burned alive, for hee still bare and kept in minde, what they contained in them. A like

The
burning
of the
books of
Labienus

The death of Lucan

accident happened to *Geruntius Cordus*, who was accused to have commended *Brutus* and *Cassius* in his Bookes. That base, servile, and corrupted Senate, and worthie of a farre worse master than *Tiberius*, adjudged his writings to be consumed by fire. And he was pleased to accompany them in their death; for, he pined away by abstaining from all manner of meat. That notable man, *Lucane*, being adjudged by that lewd varlet *Nero* to death; at the latter end of his life, when all his blood was well-nigh spent from out the veines of his arme, which by his Physitian he had caused to be opened, to hasten his death, and that a chilling cold began to seize the uttermost parts of his limbes, and approach his vital spirits, the last thing he had in memory, was some of his owne verses, written in his booke of the *Pharsalian* warres, which with a distinct voice hee repeated, and so yeelded up the ghost, having those last words in his mouth. What was that but a kinde, tender, and fatherly farwell which he tooke of his children? representing the last adiewes, and parting imbracements, which at our death we give unto our dearest issues? And an effect of that naturall inclination, which in that last extremity puts us in minde of those things, which in our life-time we have held dearest and most precious? Shall we imagine that *Epicurus*, who (as himselfe said) dying tormented with the extreme paine of the chollik, had all his comfort in the beauty of the doctrine which he left behinde him in the world, would have received as much contentment of a number of well-borne,

How
Montaigne
loved his
Essays

and better-bred children (if he had had any) as he did of the production of his rich compositions? And if it had beene in his choise, to leave behind him, either a counterfeit, deformed, or ill-borne childe, or a foolish, triviall, and idle booke, not onely he, but all men in the world besides of like learning and sufficiency, would much rather have chosen to incurre the former than the later mischief. It might peradventure be deemed impiety, in Saint *Augustine* (for example-sake) if on the one part one should propose unto him, to bury all his bookes, whence our religion receiveth so much good, or to interre his children (if in case he had any) that he would not rather chuse to bury his children, or the issue of his loynes, than the fruits of his minde. And I wot not well, whether my selfe should not much rather desire to beget and produce a perfectly-well-shaped, and excellently-qualified infant, by the acquaintance of the Muses, than by the copulation of my wife. Whatsoever I give to this, let the world allow of it as it please, I give it as purely and irrevocable, as any man can give to his corporal children. That little good which I have done him, is no longer in my disposition. He may know many things, that my selfe know no longer, and hold of me what I could not hold my selfe: and which (if need should require) I must borrow of him as of a stranger. If I be wiser than he, he is richer than I. There are few men given unto Poesie, that would not esteeme it for a greater honour, to be the fathers of *Virgils Aeneidos*,

Children than of the goodliest boy in *Rome*, and that
 of the mind and of the hands would not rather endure the losse of the one
 than the perishing of the other. For, according
 to *Aristotle*, Of all workemen, the Poet is principally the most amorous of his productions and conceited of his Labours. It is not easie to be beleaved, that *Epaminondas*, who wanted to leave some daughters behind him, which unto all posterity, should one day highly honour their father (they were the two famous victories, which he had gained of the Lacedemonians) would ever have given his free consent, to change them, with the best-borne, most gorgeous, and goodliest damselfs of all *Greece*: or that *Alexander*, and *Cesar*, did ever wish to be deprived of the greatnesse of their glorious deeds of warre, for the commodity to have children and heires of their owne bodies, how absolutely-perfect, and well-accomplished so ever they might be. Nay, I make a great question, whether *Pheidias* or any other excellent Statuary, would as highly esteeme, and dearely love the preservation, and successfull continuance of his naturall children, as he would an exquisite and match-lesse-wrought Image, that with long study, and diligent care he had perfected according unto art. And as concerning those vicious and furious passions, which sometimes have inflamed some fathers to the love of their daughters, or mothers towards their sonnes; the very same, and more partially-earnest is also found in this other kinde of childe-bearing and alliance. Witnesse that which is reported of *Pigmalion*, who having curiously framed a

goodly statue, of a most singularly-beauteous woman, was so strange-fondly, and passionately surprised with the lustfull love of his owne workmanship, that the Gods through his raging importunity were faine in favour of him to give it life. Pygmalion and the image

*Tentatum mollescit ebur, positoque rigore
Subsidit digitis.* —OVID. *Metam.* x. 283.

As he assaid it, th' yvorie softned much,
And (hardnesse left) did yeeld to fingers touch.

CHAP. IX.

Of the Parthians Armes

IT is a vitious, fond fashion of the Nobility and Gentry of our age, and full of nice-tenderneasse, never to betake themselves to armes, except upon some urgent and extreme necessitie; and to quit them as soone as they perceiue the least hope or apparance, that the danger is past: Whence ensue many disorders, and inconueniences: For, every one running and calling for his armes when the alarum is given, some have not yet buckled their cuirace, when their fellowes are already defeated. Indeed our forefathers would have their Caske, Lance, Gantlets, and Shields carried, but so long as the service lasted, themselves would never leave-off their other peeces. Our troopes are now all confounded and disordered, by reason of bag and

Over-heavy armour baggage, or carriages, of lackies, and foot-boies, which because of their masters armes they carry, can never leave them: *Titus Livius*, speaking of the French, saith, *Intolerantissima laboris corpora vis: arma humeris gerebant* (Liv. dec. i. 10). *Their bodies most impatient of labour could hardly beare armour on their backs.* Divers Nations, as they did in former times, so yet at this day, are seene to goe to the warres, without any thing about them, or if they had, it was of no defence; but were all naked and bare.

Tegmina queis capitem raptus de subere cortex.

—VIRG. *Æn.* vii. 742.

Whose caske to cover all their head,
Was made of barke from Corke-tree flea'd.

Alexander the most daring and hazardous Captain that ever was, did very seldome arme himselfe: And those which amongst us neglect them, doe not thereby much empaire their reputation. If any man chance to be slaine for want of an armour, there are as many more that miscary with the over-heavy burthen of their armes, and by them are engaged, and by a counterbuffe are brused, or otherwise defeated. For in truth to see the unweildy weight of our and their thicknesse, it seemeth we but endeavour to defend our selves, and we are rather charged than covered by them. We have enough to doe, to endure the burthen of them, and are so engived and shackled in them, as if we were to fight but with the shocke or brunt of our armes: And as if we were as much bound to defend them, as

they to shield us. *Cornelius Tacitus* doth pleasantly quip and jest at the men of war of our ancient Gaules, so armed, only to maintaine themselves, as they that have no meane, either to offend or to be offended, or to raise themselves being overthrowne. *Lucullus* seeing certaine Median men at armes, which were in the front of *Tigranes* Army, heavily and unweildily armed, as in an iron prison, apprehended thereby an opinion, that he might easily defeat them, and began to charge them first, and got the victory. And now that our Muskettiers, are in such credit, I thinke we shall have some invention found to immure us up, that so we may be warrantred from them, and to traine us to the warres in Skonces and Bastions, as those which our fathers caused to be carried by Elephants. A humour farre different from that of *Scipio* the younger, who sharply reprooved his souldiers, because they had scattered certaine Calthrops under the water alongst a dike, by which those of the Towne that he besieged might sally out upon him, saying; *that those which assailed, should resolve to enterprise and not to feare.* And had some reason to feare, that this provision might secure and lull their vigilancy asleepe to guard themselves. Moreover he said to a young man, that shewed him a faire shield he had; Indeed good youth, it is a faire one, but *a Roman souldier ought to have more confidence in his right hand, than in his left.* It is onely custome that makes the burthen of our armes intolerable unto us.

Two
sayings
of Scipio

Ancient
military
discipline

*L' ushergo in dosso haveano, e l' elmo in testa,
 Duo di quelli guerrier de i quali io canto.
 Ne notte o dì dopo ch' entrarò in questa
 Stanza, gl' havean mai messi da canto;
 Che facile à portar come la vesta
 Era lor, perche in uso l' havean tanto.*

—ARIOSTO, *Orl. can.* xii. stan. 30.

Cuirasse on backe did those two warriors beare,
 And caske on head, of whom I make report,
 Nor day, nor night, after they entred there,
 Had they them laid aside from their support:
 They could with ease them as a garment weare,
 For long time had they usde them in such sort.

The Emperour *Caracalla* in leading of his Army was ever wont to march afoot armed at all assaies. The Roman footmen caried not their morions, sword and target only, as for other armes (saith *Cicero*) they were so accustomed to weare them continually, that they hindered them no more than their limbs: *Arma enim, membra militis esse dicunt*: for they say armor and weapon, are a souldiers limbs. But therewithal such victuals as they should need for a fortnight and a certaine number of stakes, to make their rampards or palisadoes with; so much as weighed threeacore pound weight. And *Marius* his souldiers thus loden, marching in battal-array, were taught to march five leagues in five houres, yea six if need required. Their military discipline was much more laboursome than ours: So did it produce far different effects. *Scipio* the yonger reforming his army in *Spain*, appointed his souldiers to eat no meat but standing, and nothing sodden or roasted. It is worth the remembrance how a *Lacedemonian* souldier

being in an expedition of warre, was much noted **Parthian** and blamed, because hee was once seene to seeke **armour** for shelter under a house: They were so hardened to endure all manner of labour and toyle, that it was counted a reprochfull infamy for a souldier to be seene under any other roofe than that of heavens-vault, in what weather soever: Were we to doe so, we should never lead our men far. *Marcellinus* a man well trained in the Roman wars, doth curiously observe the manner which the Parthians used to arme themselves, and noteth it so much the more, by how much it was far different from the Romans. They had (saith he) certaine armes so curiously enterwrought as they seemed to be made like feathers, which nothing hindered the stirring of their bodies, and yet so strong, that our darts hitting them, did rather rebound, or glance by, than hurt them (they be the scales our ancestors were so much wont to use). In another place, they had (saith he) their horses stiffe and strong, covered with thicke hides and themselves armed from head to foot, with massie iron plates so artificially contrived, that where the joynts are, there they furthered the motion, and helped the stirring. A man would have said, they had been men made of yron: For they had peeces so handsomly fitted and so lively representing the forme and parts of the face; that there was no way to wound them, but at certaine little holes before their eyes, which served to give them some light, and by certaine chinckes about their nostrills, by which they hardly drew breath.

Montaigne
justifies
his

*Flexilis inductis hamatur lamina membris,
Horribilis visu, credas simulacra moveri
Ferreæ, cognatoque viros spirare metallo.
Par Vestitus equis, ferrata fronte minantur,
Ferratasque movent securi vulneris armat.*

—CLAUD. in *Ruff.* li. 358.

The bending plate is hook't on limbes ore-spread,
Fearefull to sight, steele images seem'd lead,
And men to breathe in mettall with them bred,
Like furniture for horse, with steeled head,
They threat, and safe from wound,
With barr'd limbs tread the ground.

Loe-heere a description, much resembling the
equipage of a compleat French-man at armes,
with all his barda. *Plutarke* reporteth that
Demetrius caused two Armoures to be made,
each one weighing six score pounds, the one
for himselve, the other for *Alcinus*, the chiefe
man of war, that was next to him, whereas all
common Armoures weighed but threescore.

CHAP. X

Of Bookes

I MAKE no doubt but it shall often befall
me to speake of things, which are better,
and with more truth handled by such as are
their crafts-masters. Here is simply an Essay
of my naturall faculties, and no whit of those
I have acquired. And he that shall tax me
with ignorance, shall have no great victory at my

hands; for hardly could I give others reason for my discourses, that give none unto my selfe, and am not well satisfied with them. He that shall make search after knowledge, let him seeke it where it is: there is nothing I professe lesse. These are but my fantasies; by which I endeavour not to make things knowne, but my selfe. They may haply one day be knowne unto me, or have bin at other times, according as fortune hath brought me where they were declared or manifested. But I remember them no more. And if I be a man of some reading, yet I am a man of no remembring, I conceive no certainty, except it bee to give notice, how farre the knowledge I have of it, doth now reach. Let no man busie himselfe about the matters, but on the fashion I give them. Let that which I borrow be survaied, and then tell me whether I have made good choice of ornaments, to beautifie and set forth the invention, which ever comes from mee. For, I make others to relate (not after mine owne fantasie, but as it best falleth out) what I cannot so well expresse, either through unskill of language, or want of judgement. I number not my borrowings, but I weigh them. And if I would have made their number to prevaile, I would have had twice as many. They are all, or almost all of so famous and ancient names, that me thinks they sufficiently name themselves without mee. If in reasons, comparisons and arguments, I transplant any into my soile, or confound them with mine owne, I purposely conceale the Author, thereby to

fantasies
and quo-
tations

Con-
 fession of
 ignorance
 a testi-
 mony of
 judg-
 ment

bridle the rashnesse of these hastie censures,
 that are so head long cast upon all manner of
 compositions, namely young writings, of men
 yet living; and in vulgare, that admit all the
 world to talke of them, and which seemeth to
 convince the conception and publike designe
 alike. I will have them to give *Plutarch* a
 bob upon mine owne lips, and vex themselves,
 in wronging *Seneca* in mee. My weaknesse must
 be hidden under such great credits. I will love
 him that shal trace, or unfeather me; I meane
 through clearenesse of judgement, and by the
 onely distinction of the force and beautie of
 my Discourses. For my selfe, who for want of
 memorie, am ever to seeke, how to trie and refine
 them; by the knowledge of their country, knowe
 perfectly; by measuring mine owne strength, that
 my soyle is no way capable, of some over-pre-
 tious flowers, that therein I find set, and that
 all the fruits of my encrease could not make it
 amends. This am I bound to answer-for, if I
 hinder my selfe, if there be either vanitie, or
 fault in my Discourses, that I perceive not or
 am not able to discern, if they be shewed me.
 For, many faults doe often escape our eyes;
 but the infirmitie of judgement consisteth in not
 being able to perceive them, when another dis-
 covereth them unto us. Knowledge and truth
 may be in us without judgement, and we may
 have judgement without them: Yea, the acknow-
 ledgement of ignorance, is one of the best and
 surest testimonies of judgement that I can finde.
 I have no other Sergeant of band to marshall

my rapsodies, than fortune. And looke how my humours or conceites present them-selves, so I shuffle them up. Sometimes they prease out thicke and three-fold, and other times they come out languishing one by one. I will have my naturall and ordinarie pace scene as loose, and as shuffling as it is. As I am, so I goe on plodding. And besides, these are matters, that a man may not be ignorant of, and rashly and casually to speake of them. I would wish to have a more perfect understanding of things, but I will not purchase it so deare, as it cost. My intention is to passe the remainder of my life quietly, and not laboriously, in rest, and not in care. There is nothing I will trouble or vex my selfe about, so not for Science it selfe, what esteeme soever it be-of. I doe not search and tosse over Books, but for an honest recreation to please, and pastime to delight my selfe: or if I studie, I onely endeavour to find out the knowledge that teacheth or handleth the knowledge of my selfe, and which may instruct me how to die well, and how to live well.

A quiet
life
desired:
and the
know-
ledge of
self

Has meus ad metas sudet oportet equus.

—PROPERT. IV. EL. I. 70.

My horse must sweating runne,
That this goale may be wonne.

If in reading I fortune to meet with any difficult points, I fret not my selfe about them, but after I have given them a charge or two, I leave them as I found them. Should I earnestly plod upon them I should loose both time and my

Montaigne
no lover
of new
books

selfe; for I have a skipping wit. What I see not at the first view, I shall lesse see it, if I opinionate my selfe upon it. I doe nothing without blithnesse; and an over obstinate continuation and plodding contention, doth dazle, dul and weary the same: My sight is thereby confounded and diminished. I must therefore withdraw-it, and at fittes goe to it againe. Even as to judge well of the lustre of scarlet we are taught to cast our eyes over it, in running it over by divers glances, sodaine glimpses, and reiterated reprisings. If one booke seeme tedious unto me, I take another, which I follow not with any earnestnesse, except it be at such houres as I am idle, or that I am weary with doing nothing. I am not greatly affected to new books, because ancient Authors are in my judgement more full and pithy: nor am I much addicted to Greeke books, forasmuch as my understanding can[not] well rid his worke with a childish and apprentice intelligence. Amongst moderne bookes meerly pleasant, I esteeme *Bocace* his *Decameron*, *Rabelais*, and the kisses of *John* the second (if they may be placed under this title) worth the paines-taking to reade them. As for *Amadis* and such like trash of writings, they had never the credit so much as to allure my youth to delight in them. This I will say more, either boldly or rashly, that this old and heave-pased minde of mine, will no more be pleased with *Aristotle*, or tickled with good *Ovid*: his facility, and quaint inventions, which heretofore have so ravished me, they can now a dayes scarcely entertaine me.

I speake my minde freely of all things, yea of such as peradventure exceed my sufficiencie, and that no way I hold to be of my jurisdiction. What my conceit is of them, is also to manifest the proportion of my insight, and not the measure of things. If at any time I finde my selfe distasted of *Platoes Aniochus*, as of a forceles worke, due regard had to such an Author, my judgement doth nothing beleewe it selfe: It is not so fond-hardy, or selfe-conceited, as it durst dare to oppose it selfe against the authority of so many other famous ancient judgements, which he reputeth his regents and masters, and with whom hee had rather erre. He chafeth with, and condemneth himselfe, either to rely on the superficiall sense, being unable to pierce into the centre, or to view the thing by some false lustre. He is pleased only to warrant himselfe from trouble and unrulinesse: As for weaknesse he acknowledgeth and ingeniously avoweth the same. He thinkes to give a just interpretation to the apparences which his conception presents unto him, but they are shallow and imperfect. Most of *Æsopes* fables have divers senses, and severall interpretations: Those which *Mythologize* them, chuse some kinde of colour well-suting with the fable; but for the most part, it is no other than the first and superficiall glosse: There are others more quicke, more sinnowie, more essentiall and more internall, into which they could never penetrate; and thus thinke I with them. But to follow my course; I have ever deemed that in Poesie, *Virgil*, *Lucretius*, *Catullus*, and *Horace*,

Acquies-
cence in
authority
even
against
taste

Virgil,
Terence,
and
Lucan

doe doubtles by far hold the first ranke: and especially *Virgil* in his *Georgiks*, which I esteeme to be the most accomplished peece of worke of Poesie: In comparison of which one may easily discern, that there are some passages in the *Æneidos*, to which the Author (had he lived) would no doubt have given some review or correction: The fifth booke whereof is (in my mind) the most absolutely perfect. I also love *Lucan*, and willingly read him, not so much for his stile, as for his owne worth, and truth of his opinion and judgement. As for good *Terence*, I allow the quaintnesse and grace of his Latine tongue, and judge him wonderfull conceited and apt, lively to represent the motions and passions of the minde, and the condition of our manners: our actions make me often remember him. I can never reade him so often, but still I discover some new grace and beautie in him. Those that lived about *Virgil*'s time, complained that some would compase *Lucretius* unto him. I am of opinion, that verily it is an unequall comparison; yet can I hardly assure my selfe in this opinion whensoever I finde my selfe entangled in some notable passage of *Lucretius*. If they were moved at this comparison, what would they say now of the fond, hardy and barbarous stupiditie of those which now adayes compare *Ariosto* unto him? Nay what would *Ariosto* say of it himselfe?

O sæculum insipiens et infacetum.—CATUL. *Epig.* xl. 5.

O age that hath no wit,
And small conceit in it.

I thinke our ancestors had also more reason to cry out against those that blushed not to equall *Plautus* unto *Terence* (who makes more shew to be a Gentleman) than *Lucretius* unto *Kirgil*. This one thing doth greatly advantage the estimation and preferring of *Terence*, that the father of the Roman eloquence, of men of his quality doth so often make mention of him; and the censure, which the chiefe Judge of the Roman Poets giveth of his companion. It hath often come unto my minde, how such as in our dayes give themselves to composing of comedies (as the Italians who are very happy in them) employ three or foure arguments of *Terence* and *Plautus* to make up one of theirs. In one onely comedy they will huddle up five or six of *Bocaces* tales. That which makes them so to charge themselves with matter, is the distrust they have of their owne sufficiency, and that they are not able to undergoe so heavie a burthen with their owne strength. They are forced to finde a body on which they may rely and leane themselves: and wanting matter of their owne wherewith to please us, they will have the story or tale to busie and amuse us: where as in my [Author] it is cleane contrary: The elegancies, the perfections and ornaments of his manner of speech, make us neglect and lose the longing for his subject. His quaintnesse and grace doe still retaine us to him. He is every where pleasantly conceited,

Terence
and
Plautus

Liquidus puroque simillimus anni,—Hör. ii. *Epist.* ii. 120,
So clearely-neate, so neatly-cleare,
As he a fine-pure River were.

Catullus and doth so replenish our minde with his graces,
 and that we forget those of the fable. The same
Martiall consideration drawes me somewhat further. I
 perceive that good and ancient Poets have
 shunned the affectation and enquest, not only
 of fantastick; new fangled, Spagniolized, and
 Petrarchisticall elevations, but also of more sweet
 and sparing inventions, which are the ornament
 of all the Poeticall workes of succeeding ages.
 Yet is there no competent Judge, that findeth
 them wanting in those Ancient ones, and that
 doth not much more admire that smoothly equall
 neatnesse, continued sweetnesse, and flourishing
 comelinesse of *Catullus* his Epigrams, than all
 the sharpe quips, and witty girds, wherewith
Martiall doth whet and embellish the conclu-
 sions of his. It is the same reason I spake of
 erewhile, as *Martiall* of himselfe. *Minus illi*
ingenio laborandum fuit, in cuius locum materia
successerat (MART. *præf. viii.*). He needed the
 lesse worke with his wit, in place whereof matter
 came in supply; The former without being moved
 or pricked cause themselves to be heard lowd
 enough: they have matter to laugh at every
 where, and need not tickle themselves; where
 as these must have foraine helpe: according as
 they have lesse spirit, they must have more body.
 They leape on horse-backe: because they are
 not sufficiently strong in their legs to march
 on foot. Even as in our dances, those base
 conditioned men that keepe dancing-schooles,
 because they are unfit to represent the port and
 decencie of our nobilitie, endeavour to get com-

mendation by dangerous lofty trickes, and other strange tumbler-like friskes and motions. And some Ladies make a better shew of their countenances in those dances, wherein are divers changes, cuttings, turnings, and agitations of the body, than in some dances of state and gravity, where they need but simply to tread a naturall measure, represent an unaffected cariage, and their ordinary grace; And as I have also seene some excellent Lourdans, or Clownes attired in their ordinary worky-day clothes, and with a common homely countenance, affoord us all the pleasure that may be had from their art: Prentises and learners that are not of so high a forme, to besmeare their faces, to disguise themselves, and in motions to counterfeite strange visages, and antickes, to enduce us to laughter. This my conception is no where better discerned, than in the comparison betweene *Virgils Æneidos*, and *Orlando Furioso*. The first is seene to soare aloft with full-spread wings, and with so high and strong a pitch, ever following his point; the other faintly to hover and flutter from tale to tale, and as it were skipping from bough to bough, alwayes distrusting his owne wings, except it be for some short flight, and for feare his strength and breath should faile him, to sit downe at every fields-end.

Excursusque breues tentat.—VIRG. *Æn.* iv. 194.

Out-lobes sometimes he doth assay,
But very short, and as he may.

Loe here then, concerning this kinde of sub-

Plutarck
 and
 Seneca

jects, what Authors please me best: As for my other lesson, which somewhat more mixeth profit with pleasure, whereby I learne to range my opinions, and addresse my conditions; the Bookes that serve me thereunto, are *Plutarke* (since he spake French,) and *Seneca*; Both have this excellent commodity for my humour, that the knowledge I seeke in them, is there so scatteringly and loosely handled, that whosoever readeth them is not tied to plod long upon them, whereof I am uncapable. And so are *Plutarckes* little workes, and *Senecas* Epistles, which are the best and most profitable parts of their writings. It is no great matter to draw mee to them, and I leave them where I list. For, they succeed not, and depend not one of another. Both jumpe and suit together, in most true and profitable opinions: And fortune brought them both into the world in one age. Both were Tutors unto two Roman Emperours: Both were strangers, and came from farre Countries; both rich and mighty in the common-wealth, and in credit with their masters. Their instruction is the prime and creame of Philosophy, and presented with a plaine, unaffected, and pertinent fashion. *Plutarke* is more uniforme and constant; *Seneca* more waving and diverse. This doth labour, force, and extend himselfe, to arme and strengthen vertue against weaknesse, feare, and vitious desires; the other seemeth nothing so much to feare their force or attempt, and in a manner scorneth to hasten or change his pace about them, and to put himselfe upon his guard.

Plutarke opinions are Platonically, gentle and accommodable unto civill societie: *Seneca's* Stoicall and Epicurian, further from common use, but in my conceit, more proper, particular, and more solid. It appeareth in *Seneca*, that he somewhat inclineth and yeeldeth to the tyrannie of the Emperors which were in his daies; for, I verily beleve, it is with a forced judgement, he condemneth the cause of those noblie-minded murderers of *Cesar*: *Plutarke* is every where free and open-hearted; *Seneca*, full-fraught with points and sallies, *Plutarke* stufte with matters. The former doth move and enflame you more; the latter, content, please, and pay you better: This doth guide you, the other drive you on. As for *Cicero*, of all his works, those that treat of Philosophie (namely morall) are they which best serve my turne, and square with my intent. But boldly to confesse the trueth, (For, *Since the bars of impudencie were broken downe, all curbing is taken away*) his manner of writing semeth verie tedious unto me, as doth all such-like stuffe. For, his prefaces, definitions, divisions, and Etymologies, consume the greatest part of his Works; whatsoever quick, wittie, and pithie conceit is in him, is surcharged, and confounded by those his long and far-fetcht preambles. If I bestow but one houre in reading him, which is much for me; and let me call to minde what substance, or juice I have drawne from him, for the most part, I find nothing but wind and ostentation in him: for he is not yet come to the arguments, which make for his purpose, and

Mon- reasons that properly concerne the knot or pith
 taigne I seek-after. These Logickall and Aristotelian
 prefers ordinances are not availfull for me, who onely
 matter endeavour to become more wise and sufficient,
 rather and not more wittie or eloquent. I would have
 than form one begin with the last point: I understand
 sufficiently what death and voluptuousnesse are:
 let not a man busie himselfe to anatomize them.
 At the first reading of a Booke, I seeke for
 good and solid reasons, that may instruct me
 how to sustaine their assaults. It is neither
 grammaticall subtilties, nor logickall quiddities,
 nor the wittie contexture of choice words, or
 arguments, and syllogismes, that will serve my
 turne. I like those discourses that give the first
 charge to the strongest part of the doubt; his
 are but flourishes, and languish every where.
 They are good for Schooles, at the barre, or
 for Orators and Preachers, where we may slum-
 ber: and though we wake a quarter of an houre
 after, we may find and trace him soone enough.
 Such a manner of speech is fit for those Judges,
 that a man would corrupt by hooke or crooke,
 by right or wrong, or for children and the com-
 mon people, unto whom a man must tell all, and
 see what the event will be. I would not have a
 man go about, and labour by circumlocutions, to
 induce and win me to attention, and that (as our
 Herolds or Criers do) they shall ring out their
 words. Now heare me, now listen, or ho-yes.
 The Romanes in their Religion were wont to
 say, *Hoc age*; which in ours we say, *Sursum*
corda. These are so many lost words for me.

I come readie prepared from my house. I need no allurement nor sawce; my stomacke is good enough to digest raw meat: And whereas with these preparatives and flourishes, or preambles, they thinke to sharpen my taste, or stir my stomacke, they cloy and make it wallowish. Shall the priviledge of times excuse me from this sacrilegious boldnesse, to deeme *Platoes* Dialogismes to be as languishing, by over-filling and stuffing his matter? And to bewaile the time that a man, who had so many thousands of things to utter, spends about so many, so long, so vaine, and idle interloquutions, and preparatives? My ignorance shall better excuse me, in that I see nothing in the beautie of his language. I generally enquire after Bookes, that use sciences, and not after such as institute them. The two first, and *Plinie*, with others of their ranke, have no *Hoc age* in them, they will have to doe with men, that have forewarned themselves; or if they have, it is a materiall and substantiall *Hoc age*, and that hath his bodie apart. I likewise love to read the Epistles and *ad Atticum*, not onely because they containe a most ample instruction of the Historie, and affaires of his times, but much more because in them I descrie his private humours. For, (as I have said elsewhere) I am wonderfull curious, to discover and know, the minde, the soule, the genuine disposition, and naturall judgement of my Authors. A man ought to judge their sufficiencie, and not their customes, nor them by the shew of their writings, which they

Mon- set forth on this worlds Theatre. I have sor-
 taigne rowed a thousand times, that ever we lost the
 curious booke, that *Brutus* writ of Vertue. *Oh it is a*
 as to goodly thing to learne the Theorike of such as un-
 personal traits derstand the practice well. But forsomuch as
 the Sermon is one thing, and the Preacher an
 other : I love as much to see *Brutus* in *Plutarke*,
 as in himselfe : I would rather make choice to
 know certainly, what talke he had in his Tent
 with some of his familiar friends, the night fore-
 going the battel, than the speech he made the
 morrow after to his Armie : and what he did in
 his chamber or closet, than what in the Senate
 or market place. As for *Cicero*, I am of the
 common judgement, that besides learning, there
 was no exquisite excellencie in him : He was
 a good Citizen, of an honest-gentle nature, as
 are commonly fat and burly men ; for so was
 he : But to speake truly of him, full of ambi-
 tious vanitie and remisse nicenesse. And I know
 not well how to excuse him, in that hee deemed
 his Poesie worthy to be published. It is no
 great imperfection, to make bad verses, but it is
 an imperfection in him, that he never perceived
 how unworthy they were of the glorie of his
 name. Concerning his eloquence, it is beyond
 all comparison, and I verily beleeeve, that none
 shall ever equall it. *Cicero* the younger, who
 resembled his father in nothing, but in name,
 commanding in *Asia*, chanced one day to have
 many strangers at his board, and amongst others,
 one *Cestius* sitting at the lower end, as the man-
 ner is to thrust in at great mens tables : *Cicero*

inquired of one of his men what he was, who told him his name, but he dreaming on other matters, and having forgotten what answer his man made him, asked him his name twice or thrice more: the servant, because he would not be troubled to tell him one thing so often, and by some circumstance make him to know him better, It is, said he, the same *Castius*, of whom some have told you, that in respect of his owne, maketh no account of your fathers eloquence: *Cicero* being suddainly mooved, commaunded the said poore *Castius* to be presently taken from the table, and well whipt in his presence: Lo- heere an uncivill and barbarous host. Even amongst those, which (all things considered) have deemed his eloquence matchlesse and incomparable others there have been, who have not spared to note some faults in it: As great *Brutus* said, that it was an eloquence, broken, halting, and disjoynted, *fractam et clumbem*: *Incoherent and sinnowlesse*. Those Orators that lived about his age, reproved also in him the curious care he had of a certaine long cadence, at the end of his clauses, and noted these words, *Esse videatur*, which he so often useth. As for me, I rather like a cadence that falleth shorter, cut like Iambikes: yet doth he sometimes confound his numbers; but it is seldome: I have especially observed this one place. *Ego vero me minus diu senem esse mallet, quam esse senem, antequam essem.* (*Cic. De Senect.*). But I had rather, not be an old man so long as I might be, than to be old before I should be. Historians are

Cæsar my right hand ; for they are pleasant and easie :
and and therewithall, the man with whom I desire
Sallust generally to be acquainted, may more lively and
 perfectly be discovered in them, than in any other
 composition : the varietie and truth of his inward
 conditions, in grosse and by retale : the diver-
 sitie of the meanes of his collection and com-
 posing, and of the accidents that threaten him.
 Now, those that write of mens lives, forasmuch
 as they amuse and busie themselves more about
 counsels than events, more about that which com-
 meth from within, than that which appeareth out-
 ward ; they are fittest for me : And that's the
 reason why *Plutarke* above all in that kind, doth
 best please me. Indeed I am not a little grieved
 that we have not a dozen of *Laertii*, or that he
 is not more knowne, or better understood : for,
 I am no lesse curious to know the fortunes and
 lives of these great masters of the world, than to
 understand the diversitie of their decrees and
 conceits. In this kind of studie of Historie, a
 man must, without distinction, tosse and turne
 over all sorts of Authors, both old and new,
 both French and others, if he will learne the
 things they so diversly treat-of. But me thinks
 that *Cæsar* above all doth singularly deserve to
 be studied, not onely for the understanding of
 the Historie, as of himselfe ; so much perfection
 and excellencie is there in him more than in
 others, although *Salust* be reckoned one of the
 number. Verily I read that Author with a
 little more reverence and respect, than com-
 monly men reade profane and humane Workes :

sometimes considering him by his actions, and wonders of his greatnesse, and other times waighing the puritie and inimitable polishing and elegancie of his tongue, which (as *Cicero* saith) hath not onely exceeded all Historians, but haply *Cicero* himselfe: with such sinceritie in his judgement. Speaking of his enemies, that except the false colours, wherewith he goeth about to cloake his bad cause, and the corruption and filthinesse of his pestilent ambition, I am perswaded there is nothing in him to be found fault-with: and that he hath been ever-sparing to speak of himselfe: for, so many notable and great things could never be executed by him, unlesse he had put more of his owne unto them, than he setteth downe. I love those Historians that are either verie simple, or most excellent. The simple who have nothing of their owne to adde unto the storie, and have but the care and diligence to collect whatsoever come unto their knowledge, and sincerely and faithfully to register all things, without choice or culling, by the naked truth leave our judgement more entire, and better satisfied.

Native
simplicity
of Frois-
sart

Such amongst others (for example sake) plaine and well-meaning Froissard, who in his enterprize, hath marched with so free and genuine a puritie, that having committed some oversight, he is neither ashamed to acknowledge, nor afraid to correct the same, where-soever he hath either notice or warning of it: and who representeth unto us the diversitie of the newes then currant, and the different reports,

An ideal that were made unto him. The subject of history an historie should be naked, bare, and formelesse; each man according to his capacite or understanding may reap commoditie out of it. The curious and most excellent have the sufficiencie to cull and chuse that, which is worthe to be knowne, and may select of two relations, that which is most likely: of the condition of Princes, and of their humors; therby they conclude their counsels, and attribute convenient words unto them: they have reason to assume authoritie unto them, to direct and shapen our beliefe unto theirs. But truly that belongs not to many. Such as are betweene both (which is the most common fashion) it is they that spoile all; they will needs chew our meat for us, and take upon them a law to judge, and by consequence to square and encline the storie according to their fantasie; for, where the judgement bendeth one way, a man cannot chuse but wrest and turne his narration that way. They undertake to chuse things worthy to bee knowne; and now and then conceal either a word or a secret action from us, which would much better instruct us: omitting such things as they understand not, as incredible: and haply such matters, as they know not how to declare, either in good Latin, or tolerable French. Let them boldly enstall their eloquence, and discourse: Let them censure at their pleasure, but let them also give us leave to judge after them: And let them neither alter nor dispence by their abridge-

The
makers
of history
its best
writers

ments and choice, any thing belonging to the substance of the matter; but let them rather send it pure and entire with all her dimensions unto us. Most commonly (as chiefly in our age) this charge of writing histories is committed unto base, ignorant, and mechanical kind of people, only for this consideration that they can speak well; as if we sought to learne the Grammer of them; and they have some reason, being only hyred to that end, and publishing nothing but their tittle-tattle to aime at nothing else so much. Thus with store of choice and quaint words, and wyredrawne phrases they huddle up, and make a hodge-pot of a laboured contexture of the reports, which they gather in the market-places, or such other assemblies. *The only good histories are those that are written by such as commanded, or were imploied themselves in weighty affaires, or that were partners in the conduct of them, or that at least have had the fortune to manage others of like qualitie.* Such in a manner are all the Græcians and Romans. For, many eye-witnesses having written of one same subject (as it hapned in those times, when Greatnesse and Knowledge did commonly meet) if any fault or over-sight have past them, it must be deemed exceeding light, and upon some doubtfull accident. *What may a man expect at a Phisitions hand, that discourseth of warre, or of a bare Scholler, treating of Princes secret designs?* If we shall but note the religion, which the Romans had in that, we need no

Nothing other example: *Asinius Polio* found some mis-
 so hard taking or oversight in *Cæsars* Commentaries,
 to find as whereinto he was false, only because he could
 truth not possible oversee all things with his owne
 eyes, that hapned in his Armie, but was faine
 to relie on the reports of particular men, who
 often related untruths unto him; or else because
 he had not been curiously advertised, and dis-
 tinctly enformed by his Lieutenants and Cap-
 taines, of such matters as they in his absence
 had managed or effected. Whereby may be
 seen, that *nothing is so hard, or so uncertaine to
 be found-out, as the certaintie of a Truth*, sithence
 no man can put any assured confidence con-
 cerning the truth of a battell, neither in the
 knowledge of him, that was Generall, or com-
 manded over it, nor in the soldiers that fought,
 of any thing, that hath hapned amongst them;
 except after the manner of a strict point of law,
 the severall witnesses are brought and examined
 face to face, and that all matters be nicely and
 thorowly sifted by the objects and trials of the
 successe of every accident. Verily the know-
 ledge we have of our own affaires is much
 more barren and feeble. But this hath suffi-
 ciently been handled by *Bodine*, and agreeing
 with my conception. Somewhat to aid the
 weaknesse of my memorie, and to assist her
 great defects; for it hath often been my chance
 to light upon bookes, which I supposed to be
 new, and never to have read, which I had not
 understanding diligently read and run-over many
 yeares before, and all described with my notes:

I have a while since accustomed my selfe, to note at the end of my booke (I meane such as I purpose to read but once) the time I made an end to read it, and to set downe what censure or judgement I gave of it; that so, it may at least, at another time represent unto my mind, the aire and generall Idea, I had conceived of the Author in reading him. I will here set downe the Copie of some of mine annotations, and especially what I noted upon my *Guicciardine* about ten yeares since: (For what language soever my bookes speake unto me, I speake unto them in mine owne.) He is a diligent Historiographer, and from whom in my conceit, a man may as exactly learne the truth of such affaires as passed in his time, as of any other writer whatsoever: and the rather because himselfe hath been an Actor of most part of them, and in verie honourable place. There is no signe or apparance, that ever he disguised or coloured any matter, either through hatred, malice, favour, or vanitie; whereof the free and impartiall judgements he giveth of great men, and namely of those by whom he had been advanced or imployed in his important charges, as of Pope *Clement* the seaventh, beareth undoubted testimonie. Concerning the parts wherewith he most goeth about to prevaile which are his digressions and discourses; many of them are verie excellent, and enriched with faire ornaments; but he hath too much pleased himselfe in them: for, endeavouring to omit nothing that might be spoken, having so full and

The
history of
Guicciar-
dini

Philip de Comines large a subject, and almost infinite, he proveth somewhat languishing, and giveth a tast of a kind of scholasticall tedious babling. Moreover, I have noted this, that of so severall and divers armes, successes, and effects he judgeth of; of so many and variable motives, alterations, and counsels, that he relateth, he never referreth any one unto vertue, religion, or conscience: as if they were all extinguished and banished the world: and of all actions, how glorious soever in apparance they be of themselves, he doth ever impute the cause of them, to some vicious and blame-worthie occasion, or to some commeditie and profit. It is impossible to imagine, that amongst so infinite a number of actions, whereof he judgeth, some one have not been produced and compassed by way of reason. No corruption could ever possesse men so universally, but that some one must of necessity escape the contagion; which makes me to feare, he hath had some distaste or blame in his passion, and it hath haply fortuneed, that he hath judged or esteemed of others according to himselfe. In my *Philip de Comines*, there is this: In him you shall find a pleasing-sweet, and gently-gliding speech; fraught with a purely-sincere simplicitie, his narration pure and unaffected, and wherein the Authours unspotted-good meaning doth evidently appeare, void of all manner of vanitie or ostentation speaking of himselfe, and free from all affection or envie speaking of others: his discourses and perswasions, accompanied more with a well-

meaning zeale, and meere veritie, than with any laboured and exquisit sufficiencie, and all through, with gravitie and authoritie, representing a man well-borne, and brought up in high negotiations. Upon the memories and historie of Monsieur du *Bellay*. It is ever a well-pleasing thing, to see matters written by those, that have assaid how, and in what manner they ought to be directed and managed: yet can it not be denied, but that in both these Lords, there will manifestly appeare a great declination from a free libertie of writing, which clearly shineth in ancient writers of their kind: as in the Lord of *Jenville*, familiar unto *Saint Lewis*, *Eginard*, Chancellor unto *Charlemaine*; and of more fresh memorie, in *Philip de Comines*. This is rather a declamation or pleading for king *Francis* against the Emperour *Charles* the fifth, than an Historie. I will not beleeeve, they have altered or changed, any thing concerning the generalitie of matters, but rather to wrest and turne the judgement, of the events, many times against reason, to our advantage, and to omit whatsoever they supposed, to be doubtfull or ticklish in their masters life: they have made profession of it: witnesse the recoylings of the Lords of *Monmouth* and *Byron*, which therein are forgotten; and which is more, you shall not so much as find the name of the Ladie of *Estampes* mentioned at all. A man may sometimes colour, and haply hide secret actions, but absolutely to conceal that which all the world knoweth, and especially such things as have

Montaigne's distinction between drawne-on publike effects, and of such consequence, it is an inexcusable defect, or as I may say unpardonable oversight. To conclude, who-soever desireth to have perfect information and knowledge of King *Francis* the first, and of the things hapned in his time, let him addresse himselfe elsewhere, if he will give any credit unto me. The profit he may reap here, is by the particular [deduction] of the battels and exploits of warre, wherein these Gentlemen were present; some privie conferences, speeches, or secret actions of some Princes, that then lived, and the practices managed, or negotiations directed by the Lord of *Langeay*, in whom doubtlesse are verie many things, well-worthie to be knowne, and diverse discourses not vulgare.

CHAP. XI

Of Crueltie

ME thinks vertue is another manner of thing, and much more noble than the inclinations unto goodnesse, which in us are ingendered. Mindes well borne, and directed by themselves, follow one same path, and in their actions represent the same visage, that the vertuous doe. But vertue importeth, and soundeth somewhat I wot not what greater and more active, than by an happy complexion, gently and peaceably, to suffer it selfe to be led or drawne, to follow

goodness
and
virtue

reason. He that through a naturall facilitie, and genuine mildnesse, should neglect or contemne injuries received, should no doubt performe a rare action, and worthy commendation : But he who being toucht and stung to the quicke, with any wrong or offence received, should arme himselfe with reason against this furiously-blind desire of revenge, and in the end after a great conflict, yeeld himselfe master over-it, should doubtlesse doe much more. The first should doe well, the other vertuously : the one action might be termed goodnesse, the other vertue. For, *It seemeth, that the verie name of vertue presupposeth difficultie, and inferreth resistance, and cannot well exercise it selfe without an enemy.* It is peradventure the reason why we call God good, mightie, liberall, and just, but we terme him not vertuous. His workes are all voluntarie, unforced, and without compulsion. Of Philosophers, not onely Stoicks, but also Epicurians (which endearing I borrow of the common-received opinion, which is false whatsoever the nimble saying or wittie quipping of *Artesilans* implieth, who answered the man that upbraided him, how divers men went from his schoole to the Epicurian, but none came from thence to him : I easily beleeve-it (said he) for, *Of cocks are many capons made, but no man could ever yet make a coeke of a capon.* For truly, in constancie, and rigor of opinions, and strictnesse of precepts, the Epicurian Sect doth in no sort yeeld to the Stoicke. And a Stoicke acknowledging a better faith, than those disputers, who

Stoic and Epicu-
rean
sects

to contend with *Epicurus*, and make sport with him, make him to infer and say what he never meant, wresting and wyre-drawing his words to a contrarie sense, arguing and silogizing by the Grammarians privilege, another meaning, by the manner of his speech, and another opinion, than that they know he had, either in his minde, or manners, saith, that he left to be an Epicurian, for this one consideration amongst others, that he findeth their pitch to be over-high and inaccessible : *Et ii qui φιλήδονοι vocantur, sunt φιλόκαλοι et φιλοδίκαιοι omnesque virtutes et colunt et retinent* (SEN. *Epist.* xiii.). *And those that are called lovers of pleasure, are lovers of honestie and justice, and doe both reverence and retaine all sorts of vertue.*) Of Stoicke and Epicurian Philosophers, I say, there are divers, who have judged, that it was not sufficient to have the minde well placed, well ordered, and well disposed unto vertue ; it was not enough to have our resolutions and discourse beyond all the affronts and checks of fortune ; but that moreover, it was verie requisite, to seeke for occasions, whereby a man might come to the triall of it : They will diligently quest and seek out for paine, smart, necessitie, want, and contempt, that so they may combat them, and keep their minde in breath : *Multum sibi adjicit virtus lacessite. Virtue provoked addes much to it selfe.* It is one of the reasons why *Epaminondas* (who was of a third sect) by a verie lawfull way refuseth some riches, fortune had put into his hands, to the end (as he saith) he might have cause to strive and resist povertie,

in which want and extremitie he ever continued after.

Narrow
is the
way:

Socrates did in my minde more undantedly enure himselfe to this humor, maintaining for his exercise the peevisch frowardnesse of his wife, than which no essay can be more vex-full, and is a continuall fighting at the sharpe. *Metellus* of all the Romane Senators (he onely having undertaken with the power of vertue, to endure the violence of *Saturninus Tribune* of the people in Rome, who by maine force went about to have a most unjust law passe in favor of the Communitie: by which opposition, having incurred all the capital paines, that *Saturninus* had imposed on such as should refuse it) intertained those that led him to the place of execution, with such speeches: That to doe evill was a thing verie easie, and too demissely base.: and to doe well where was no danger, was a common thing; but to doe well, where was both perill and opposition, was the peculiar office of a man of vertue. These words of *Metellus* doe clearly represent unto us, what I would have verified; which is, that vertue rejecteth facilitie to be her companion: And that an easefull, pleasant, and declining way, by which the regular steps of a good inclination of nature, are directed, is not the way of true vertue. She requireth a craggie, rough, and thornie way; She would either have strange difficulties to wrestle withall (as that of *Metellus*) by whose meanes fortune her selfe is pleased to breake the roughnesse of his course; or inward encombrances, as the

The
soul of
Socrates

disordinate appetites and imperfections of our condition bring unto her. Hitherto I have come at good ease; but at the end of this discourse, one thing commeth into my minde, which is, that the soule of *Socrates*, which is [absolutely] the perfectest that ever came to my knowledge, would, according to my accompt, prove a soule deserving but little commendation: For, I can perceive no manner of violence or vicious concupisence in him: I can imagine no manner of difficultie or compulsion in the whole course of his vertue. I know his reason so powerfull, and so absolute mistresse over him, that she can never give him way to any vicious desire, and will not suffer it so much as to breed in him. To a vertue so exquisit, and so high-raised as his is, I can perswade nothing. Me thinkes I see it march with a victorious and triumphant pace, in pompe, and at ease, without let or disturbance. If vertue cannot shine but by resisting contrarie appetites, shall we then say, it cannot passe without the assistance of vice, and oweth him this, that by his meanes it attaineth to honour and credit? What should also betide of that glorious and generous Epicurian voluptuousnesse, that makes accompt, effeminately to pamper vertue in her lap, and there wantonly to entertaine it, allowing it for her recreation, shame, reproch, agues, povertie, death, and tortures? If I presuppose, that perfect vertue is knowne by combating sorrow, and patiently under-going paine, by tolerating the fits and agonies of the gout, without stirring out

Death of
Cato the
younger

of his place; if for a necessarie object, I appoint her sharpnesse and difficultie; what shall become of that vertue, which hath attained so high a degree, as it doth not onely despise all manner of paine, but rather rejoyceth at-it, and when a strong fit of the collike shall assaile-it, to cause it selfe to be tickled; as that is which the Epicurians have established, and whereof divers amongst them have by their actions left most certaine proofes unto us? As also others have, whom in effect I finde to have exceeded the verie rules of their discipline; witness *Cato* the yonger; when I see him die, tearing and mangling his entrails; I cannot simply content my selfe to beleieve, that at that time, he had his soule wholly exempted from all trouble, or free from vexation: I cannot imagine, he did onely maintaine himselfe in this march or course, which the rules of the Stoike sect had ordained unto him, settled, without some alteration or motion, and impassibilitie. There was, in my conceit, in this mans vertue overmuch cheerefulnesse, and youthfulnessse to stay there. I verily beleieve, he felt a kind of pleasure and sensualitie in so noble an action, and that therein he more pleased himselfe, than in any other, he ever performed in his life. *Sic abiit e vita, ut causam moriendi nactum se esse gauderet* (Cic. *Tusc. Qu. i.*). So departed he his life, that he rejoyced to have found an occasion of death. I doe so constantly beleieve it, that I make a doubt, whether he would have had the occasion of so noble an exploit taken from

Cato's greatness of soul him. And if the goodnesse which induced him to embrace publike commodities more than his owne, did not bridle me, I should easily fall into this opinion, that he thought himselfe greatly beholding unto fortune, to have put his vertue unto so noble a triall, and to have favoured that robber, to tread the ancient libertie of his Countrie under foot. In which action me thinks I read a kinde of unspeakable joy in his minde, and a motion of extraordinarie pleasure, joyned to a manlike voluptuousnesse, at which time it beheld the worthinesse, and considered the generositie and haughtinesse of his enterprise,

Deliberata morte ferocior.

—HOR. l. *Od.* xxxvii. 29. Cleopatra.

Then most in fiercenesse did he passe
When he of death resolved was.

not urged or set-on by any hope of glorie, as the popular and effeminate judgements have judged: For, that consideration is over base, to touch so generous, so haughtie, and so constant a heart; but for the beautie of the thing it selfe in it selfe, which he, who managed all the springs, and directed all the wards thereof, saw much more clearer, and in it's perfection, than we can doe. Philosophie hath done me a pleasure to judge, that so honorable an action, had been undecently placed in any other life, than in *Catoes*, and that onely unto his it appertained to make such an end. Therefore did he with reason perswade both his sonne, and the Senators that accompanied him, to provide otherwise for them-

The
death of
Socrates

selves. *Catoni quum incredibilem natura tribuisset gravitatem, eamque ipse perpetua constantia reboravisset, semperque in proposito consilio permansisset: moriendum potius quam tyranni vultus aspiciendus erat.* Whereas nature had afforded Cato an incredible gravitie, and he had strenghtned it by continuall constancie, and ever had stood firme in his purposed desseignes, rather to die than behold the Tyrants face. Each death should be such as the life hath been. By dying we become no other than we were. I ever interpret a mans death by his life. And if a man shall tell me of any one undanted in apparance, joyned unto a weake life; I imagine it to proceed of some weake cause, and sutable to his life. The ease therefore of his death, and the facilitie he had acquired by the vigor of his minde, shall we say, it ought to abate something of the lustre of his vertue? And which of those, that have their spirits touched, be it never so little, with the true tincture of Philosophie, can content himselfe to imagine *Socrates*, onely, free from feare and passion, in the accident of his imprisonment, of his fetters, and of his condemnation? And who doth not perceive in him, not onely constancie and resolution (which were ever his ordinarie qualities) but also a kinde of I wot not what new contentment, and carelesse rejoycing in his last behaviour, and discourses? By the startling at the pleasure, which he feeleth in clawing of his legges, after his fetters were taken-off; doth he not manifestly declare an equall glee and joy in his soule, for being rid of

To his former incommodities, and entring into the
 struggle knowledge of things to come? *Cato* shall par-
 don me (if he please) his death is more tragicall,
 against and further extended, whereas this in a certaine
 evil is better manner is more faire and glorious. *Aristippus*
 answered those, that bewailed the same; when
 I die, I pray the Gods send me such a death.
 A man shall plainly perceiue in the minds of
 these two men, and of such as imitate them (for
 I make a question whether ever they could be
 matched) so perfect an habitude unto vertue, that
 it was even converted into their complexion.
 It is no longer a painfull vertue, nor by the
 ordinances of reason, for the maintaining of
 which, their minde must be strengthened: It is
 the verie essence of their soule; it is her natu-
 rall and ordinarie habit. They have made it
 such, by a long exercise and observing the rules
 and precepts of Philosophie, having lighted upon
 a faire and rich nature. Those vicious passions,
 which breed in us, finde no entrance in them.
 The vigor and constancie of their soules, doth
 suppress and extinguish all manner of concu-
 piscences, so soone as they but begin to move.
 Now that it be not more glorious, by an un-
 daunted and diuine resolution, to hinder the
 growth of temptations, and for a man to frame
 himselfe to vertue, so that the verie seeds of vice
 be cleane rooted out; than by mayne force to
 hinder their progresse; and having suffred him-
 selfe to be surprised by the first assaults of pas-
 sions, to arme and bandie himselfe, to stay their
 course and to suppress them: And that this

second effect be not also much fairer, than to be ~~than to be~~ simply stored with a facile and gentle nature, ~~innocent~~ and of it selfe distasted and in dislike with ~~of it~~ licentiousnesse and vice, I am perswaded there is no doubt. For, this third and last manner, seemeth in some sort, to make a man innocent, but not vertuous, free from doing ill, but not sufficiently apt to doe well. Seeing this condition is so neere unto imperfection and weakness, that I know not well how to cleare their confines and distinctions. The verie names of Goodnesse and innocentie, are for this respect in some sort names of contempt. I see that many vertues, as chastitie, sobrietie, and temperance, may come unto us by meanes of corporall defects and imbecilitie. Constancie in dangers (if it may be termed constancie) contempt of death, paciencie in misfortunes, may happen, and are often seen in men, for want of Good judgement in such accidents, and that they are not apprehended for such as they are indeed. *Lacke of apprehension and stupiditie, doe sometimes counterfeit vertuous effects.* As I have often seen come to passe, that some men are commended, for things they rather deserve to be blamed. An Italian gentleman did once hold this position in my presence, to the prejudice and disadvantage of his nation; That the subtiltie of the Italians, and the vivacitie of their conceptions was so great, that they foresaw such dangers and accidents as might betide them so far-off, that it was not to be deemed strange, if in times of warre, they were often seene to provide for their safetie,

Recruits
often
the best
fighters

yea, before they had perceived the danger: That we and the Spaniards, who were not so warie and subtile, went further; and that before we could be frighted with any perill, we must be induced to see it with our eyes, and feel it with our hands, and that even then we had no more hold: But that the Germanes and Switzers, more shallow and leaden-headed, had scarce the sense and wit to re-advise themselves, at what time they were even overwhelmed with miserie, and the axe readie to fall on their heads. It was peradventure but in jost, that he spake-it, yet is it most true, that in the art of warre-fare, new trained Souldiers, and such as are but novices in the trade, doe often headlong, and hand over head cast themselves into dangers, with more inconsideration, than afterward when they have scene and endured the first shooke, and are better trained in the schoole of perills.

*—haud ignarus, quantum nova gloria in armis,
Et prædulce decus primo certamine possit.*

Not ignorant, how much in armes new praise,
And sweetest honour, in first conflict weighes.

Lo here the reason why when we judge of a particular action, we must first consider many circumstances, and throughly observe the man, that hath produced the same before we name and censure it. But to speake a word of my selfe: I have sometimes noted my friends to terme that wisdom in me, which was but meere fortune; and to deeme that advantage of courage and patience, that was advantage of judgement

and opinion: and to attribute one title for another unto me, sometimes to my profit, and now and then to my losse. As for the rest, I am so far from attaining unto that chiefe and most perfect degree of excellencie, where a habitude is made of vertue, that even of the second, I have made no great triall. I have not greatly strived to bridle the desires, wherewith I have found my selfe urged and pressed. My vertue, is a vertue, or to say better innocencie, accidentall and casuall. Had I been borne with a lesse regular complexion, I imagine my state had been verie pittifull, and it would have gon hard with me: for, I could never perceiue any great constancie in my soule; to resist and undergoe passions, had they been any thing violent. I cannot foster quarels, or endure co[n]tentions in my house. So am I not greatly beholding unto my selfe, in that I am exempted from many vices:

Montaigne
a man of
peace

—*si vitii mediocribus, et mea paucis*
Mendosa est natura, alioqui recta velut si
Egregio insperatos reprehendas corpore naues.

—*HOR. l. Sat. vi. 65.*

If in a few more fault's my nature falle,
Right otherwise: as if that you would raile.
On prettles moles well placed,
On bodie seemely graced.

I am more indebted to my fortune, than to my reason for it: Shee hath made me to be borne of a rate famous for integritie and honestie, and of a verie good father. I wot not well whether any part of his humours have descended into me, or whether the domestike examples, and

Montaigne good institution of my infancie have insensibly set
 taigme their helping hand unto it; or whether I were
 by nature otherwise so borne:
 a hater
 of evil

Seu Libra, seu me Scorpius aspicit

Formidolosus, pars violentior

Natalis hora, seu tyrannus

Hesperia Capricornus unda.—HOR. ii. Od. xvii. 17.

Whether the chiefe part of my birth-houre were
 Ascendent *Libra*, or *Scorpius* full of feare;
 Or in my *Horoscope* were *Capricorne*,
 Whose tyrannie neere westernne Seas is borne.

But so it is, that naturally of my selfe, I
 abhorre and detest all manner of vices. The
 answer of *Antisthenes* to one, that demanded of
 him, which was the best thing to be learned:
To unlearn evill, seemed to be fixed on this
 image, or to have an ayne at this. I abhorre
 them (I say) with so naturall, and so innated an
 opinion, that the very same instinct and impres-
 sion, which I suckt from my nurse, I have so
 kept, that no occasions could ever make me alter
 the same: No, not mine owne discourses, which
 because they have been somewhat lavish in noting
 or taxing something of the common course, could
 easily induce me to some actions, which this my
 naturall inclination makes me to hate. I will
 tell you a wonder, I will tell it you indeed: I
 thereby find in many things, more stay and order
 in my manners, than in my opinion; and my
 concupiscence lesse debauched, than my reason.
Aristippus established certaine opinions so bold,
 in favour of voluptuousnesse and riches, that
 he made all Philosophie to mutinie against him.

Stories of
Aristip-
pus and
Epicurus

But concerning his manners, *Dionysius* the tyrant, having presented him with three faire young Wenches, that he might chuse the fairest; he answered he would chuse them all three, and that *Paris* had verie ill successe, forsomuch as he had preferred one above her fellowes. But they being brought to his owne house, he sent them backe againe, without tasting them. His servant one day carrying store of money after him, and being so over-charged with the weight of it, that he complained, his Master commanded him, to cast so much therof away, as troubled him. And *Epicurus*, whose positions are irreligious and delicate, demeaned himselfe in his life verie laboriously, and devoutly. He wrote to a friend of his, that he lived but with browne bread and water, and entreated him to send him a piece of cheese, against the time he was to make a solemne feast. May it be true, that to be perfectly good, we must be so by an hidden, naturall, and universall proprietie, without law, reason, and example? The disorders and excesses, wherein I have found my selfe engaged, are not (God be thanked) of the worst. I have rejected and condemned them in my selfe, according to their worth; for, my judgement was never found to be infected by them. And on the other side, I accuse them more rigorously in my selfe, than in another. But that is all: as for the rest, I applie but little resistance unto them, and suffer my selfe over-easily to encline to the other side of the Ballance, except it be to order and empeach them from being commixt with others, which (if

All a man take not good heed unto himselfe) for the
 virtues most part entertaine and enterchaine themselves
 may the one with the other. As for mine, I have
 work together as much as it hath laine in my power, abridged
 them, and kept them as single, and as alone as I
 could :

—*ne ultra*

Errorum fecer.—Juv. Sat. viii. 164.

Nor doe I cherish any more,
 The error which I bred before.

For, as touching the Stoikes opinion, who say, that when the wise man worketh, he worketh with all his vertues together ; howbeit, according to the nature of the action, there be one more apparant than other (to which purpose the similitude of mans bodie might, in some sort, serve their turne ; for, the action of choler cannot exercise it selfe, except all the humours set to their helping-hand, although choler be prædominant) if thence they will draw alike consequence, that when the offender trespasseth, he doth it with all the vices together. I doe not so easily beleeeve them, or else I understand them not ; for, in effect, I feel the contrarie. They are sharpe-wittie subtilties, and without substance, about which Philosophie doth often busie it selfe. Some vices I shun ; but other-some I eschew as much as any Saint can doe. The Peripatetikes doe also disavow this connexitie, and indissoluble knitting together. And Aristotle is of opinion, *That a wise and just man may be both intemperate and incontinent.* Socrates avowed unto them, who in his Physiognomie

perceived some inclination unto vice, that indeed it was his naturall propension, but that by discipline he had corrected the same. And the familiar friends of the Philosopher *Stilpo* were wont to say, that being borne subject unto wine and women, he had, by studie, brought himselfe to abstaine from both. On the otherside, what good I have, I have it by the lot of my birth; I have it neither by law nor prescription, nor by any apprenticeship. The innocencie that is in me, is a kinde of simple-plaine innocencie, without vigor or art. Amongst all other vices, there is none I hate more, than crueltie, both by nature and judgement, as the extremest of all vices. But it is with such an yearning and faint-heartednesse, that if I see but a chickens necke puld off, or a pigge stickt, I cannot chuce but grieve, and I cannot well endure a seelie dew-bedabled hare to groane, when she is seized upon by the houndes; although hunting be a violent sport. Those that are to withstand voluptuousnesse, doe willingly use this argument, to shew, it is altogether vicious and unreasonable: That where she is in her greatest prime and chiefe strength, she doth so over-sway us, that reason can have no accesse unto us, and for a further triall, alledge the experience wee feel and have of it, in our acquaintance or copulation with women.

Montaigne
a hater
of cruelty

—*cum iam præagit gaudia torpus*
Atque in eo est Venus, ut muliebria conserat ora.

—*LUCR. iv. 1097.*

When now the bodie doth light-joyes fore-know,
And *Venus* set the womans fields to sow.

The
control of
passion

Where they thinke pleasure doth so far transport us beyond our selves, that our Discourse, then altogether overwhelmed, and our reason wholie ravished in the gulfe of sensualitie, cannot by any meanes discharge her function. I know it may be otherwise: And if a man but please, he may sometimes, even upon the verie instant, cast his mind on other conceits. But she must be strained to a higher key, and heedfully pursued: I know a man may gourmandize the earnest and thought-confounding violence of that pleasure: for I may with some experience speake of it; and I have not found *Venus* to be so imperious a Goddess, as many, and more reformed than my selfe witness her to be, I thinke it not a wonder, as doth the Queene of *Navarre*, in one of the Tales of her *Heptameron* (which respecting the subject it treateth-of, is a verie prettie booke) nor doe I deeme it a matter of extreame difficultie, for a man to weare-out a whole night, in all opportunitie and libertie, in companie of a faire Mistresse, long time before sued-unto, and by him desired; religiously keeping his word, if he have engaged himselfe, to be contented with simple kisses and plaine touching. I am of opinion, that the example of the sport in hunting would more fit the same: wherein as there is lesse pleasure, so there is more distraction and surprising, whereby our reason being amazed, looseth the leasure to prepare her selfe against it: when as after a long questing and beating for some game, the beast doth suddainly start, or rowze up before us, and haply in such a

place, where we least expected the same. That suddaine motion, and riding, and the earnestnesse of showing, jubeting and hallowing, still ringing in our eares, would make it verie hard for those, who love that kind of close or chamber-hunting, at that verie instant, to withdraw their thoughts else-where. And Poets make *Diana* victoriously to triumph both over the firebrand and arrowes of *Cupid*.

Montaigne
a 'man of
feeling'

*Quis non malarum quas amor curas habet
Hæc inter obliuiscitur?*—Hor. *Epid.* li. 37.

While this is doing, who doth not forget
The wicked cares wherewith Loves heart doth fret?

But to returne to my former discourse, I have a verie feeling and tender compassion of other mens afflictions, and should more easily weep for companie sake, if possible for any occasion whatsoever, I could shed teares. There is nothing sooner moveth teares in me, than to see others weepe, not onely fainedly, but howsoever, whether truly or forcedly. I do not greatly waile for the dead, but rather envie them. Yet doe I much waile and moane the dying. The Canibales and savage people do not so much offend me with roasting and eating of dead bodies, as those which torment and persecute the living. Let any man be executed by law, how deservedly soever, I cannot endure to behold the execution with an unrelenting eye. Some one going about to witness the clemencie of *Julius Cesar*; He was (saith he) tractable and milde in matters of revenge. Having com-

Death is a sufficient pelled the Pirates to yeeld themselves unto him, who had before taken him prisoner, and put him to ransome, forasmuch as he had threatned to have them all crucified, he condemned them to that kind of death, but it was after he had caused them to be strangled. *Philomon* his secretarie, who would have poysoned him, had no sharper punishment of him, than an ordinarie death. Without mentioning the Latin Author, who for a testimonie of clemencie dareth to alleage, the onely killing of those, by whom a man hath been offended, it may easily be ghessed, that he is tainted with vile and horrible examples of crueltie, such as Romane Tyrants brought into fashion. As for me, even in matters of justice, *Whatsoever is beyond a simple death, I deeme it to be meere crueltie: And especially amongst us,* who ought to have a regardfull respect, that their soules should be sent to heaven, which cannot be, having first by intolerable tortures agitated, and as it were brought them to dispaire. A Souldier, not long since, being a prisoner, and perceiving from a loft a Tower, where he was kept, that store of people flocked together on a greene, and Carpenters were busie at worke to erect a skaffold, supposing the same to be for him, as one desperat, resolved to kill himselfe, and searching up and downe for some thing to make himselfe away, found nothing but an old rustie cart-naile, which fortune presented him with; he tooke it, and therewithall, with all the strength he had, strooke and wounded himselfe twice in the throat, but seeing it would not rid

him of life, he then thrust it into his bellie up to the head, where he left it fast-sticking. Shortly after, one of his keepers comming-in unto him, and yet living, finding him in that miserable plight, but weltring in his goare-blood, and readie to gaspe his last, told the Magistrates of it, which, to prevent time before he should die, hastned to pronounce sentence against him : which when he heard, and that he was onely condemned to have his head cut-off, he seemed to take heart of grace againe, and to be sorie for what he had done, and tooke some comfortable drinks, which before he had refused, greatly thanking the Judges for his unhop'd gentle condemnation : And told them, that for feare of a more sharply-cruell, and intolerable death by law, he had resolved to prevent-it by some violent manner of death, having by the preparations he had seen the Carpenters make, and by gathering of people together, conceived an opinion, that they would torture him with some horrible torment, and seemed to be delivered from death onely by the change of it. Were I worthe to give counsell, I would have these examples of rigor, by which superior powers goe about to keep the common people in awe, to be onely exercised on the bodies of criminall malefactors : For, to see them deprived of christian buriall, to see them haled, disbowelled, par-boyled, and quartered, might haply touch the common sort as much, as the paines, they make the living to endure : howbeit in effect it be little or nothing, as saith God, *Qui corpus occidunt, et*

punish-
ment
without
torture

Vicarious punishment *postea non habent quod faciant* (LUKE xii. 4):
Those that kill the bodie; but have afterwards no more to doe. And Poets make the horror of this picture greatly to prevaile, yea, and above death.

*Hæc reliquias semivivæ Regis, denudatis ossibus,
 Per terram sanie delibutas fæde divexarier.*

—CIC. *Tusc. Qu. 1.*

O that the reliques of an halfe-burn't King, bones
 bared,
 On earth besmear'd with filth, should be so foully
 marred.

It was my fortune to be at *Rome*, upon a day that one *Gatena*, a notorious high-way theefe, was executed: at his strangling no man of the companie seemed to be mooved to any ruth; but when he came to be quartered, the Executioner gave no blow that was not accompanied with a piteous voyce, and hartie exclamation, as if every man had had a feeling sympathie, or lent his senses to the poore mangled wretch. Such inhumane outrages and barbarous excesses should be exercised against the rinde, and not practised against the quicke. In a case somewhat like unto this, did *Artaxernes* assuage and mitigate the sharpnesse of the ancient lawes of *Persia*, appointing that the Lords, which had trespassed in their estate, whereas they were wont to be whipped, they should be stripped naked, and their clothes whipped for them: and where they were accustomed to have their haire pulled-off, they should onely have their hat taken off. The *Egyptians* so devout and religious, thought they did sufficiently satisfie divine Justice, in sacrific-

ing painted and counterfeit hogges unto it: An over-hardy invention; to go about with pictures and shadowes to appease God, a substance so essentiall and divine. I live in an age, wherein we abound with incredible examples of this vice, through the licentiousnesse of our civill and intestine warres: And read all ancient stories, be they never so tragicall, you shall find none to equall those, we daily see practised. But that hath nothing made me acquainted with it. I could hardly be perswaded, before I had seene it, that the world could have afforded so marble-hearted and savage-minded men, that for the onely pleasure of murther would commit it; then cut, mangle, and hacke other members in pieces: to rouze and sharpen their wits, to invent unused tortures and unheard-of torments; to devise new and unknowne deaths and that in cold blood, without any former enmitie or quarrell, or without any gaine or profit; and onely to this end, that they may enjoy the pleasing spectacle of the languishing gestures, pitifull motions, horror-moving yellings, deep fetcht groanes, and lamentable voyces of a dying and drooping man. For, that is the extremest point whereunto the crueltie of man may attaine. *Ut homo hominem, non iratus, non timens, tantum spectaturus occidat* (SEN. Clem. ii. c. 4). *That one man should kill another, neither being angry, nor afraid, but onely to looke on.* As for me, I could never so much as endure, without remorse and grieve, to see a poore, sillic, and innocent beast pursued and killed, which is harmelesse and void

Cruelty of
Men
taigne's
times!

He of defence, and of whom we receive no offence
 prayeth at all. And as it commonly hapneth, that
 best, who when the Stag begins to be embost, and finds
 loveth his strength to faile him, having no other re-
 best medie left him, doth yeeld and bequeath him-
 selfe unto us that pursue him, with teares suing
 to us for mercie,

—*questūque cruentus*

Atque implorantē similitū : —VIRG. *Æn.* vii. 521.

With blood from throat, and teares from eyes,
 It seemes that he for pittie cries.

was ever a grievous spectacle unto me. I sel-
 dom take any beast alive, but I give him his
 libertie. *Pythagoras* was wont to buy fishes of
 fishers, and birds of fowlers to set them free
 againe.

—*primūque à tactu ferarum*

Locustis, puto maculatum sanguine ferrum.

—OVID. *Metam.* xv. 106.

And first our blades in blood embrude I deeme
 With slaughter of poore beasts did reeking steeme.

*Such as by nature shew themselves bloodie-
 minded towards harmlesse beasts, witnesse a natu-
 rall propension unto crueltie.* After the ancient
 Romanes had once enured themselves without
 horror to behold the slaughter of wild beasts in
 their shewes, they came to the murther of men
 and Gladiators. Nature (I feare me) hath of
 her owne selfe added unto man a certaine instinct
 to humanitie. No man taketh delight to see
 wild beasts sport and wantonly to make much
 one of another : Yet all are pleased to see them

tugge, mangle, and enterteare one an other. And lest any bodie should jeast at this simphathie, which I have with them, Divinitie it selfe willeth us to shew them some favour: And considering, that one selfe-same master (I meane that incomprehensible worlds-framer) hath placed all creatures in this his wondrous palace for his service, and that they, as well as we, are of his household: I say, it hath some reason to injoyne us, to shew some respect and affection towards them. *Pythagoras* borrowed *Metempsychosis* of the *Ægyptians*, but since, it hath been received of divers Nations, and especially of our *Druides*:

All things
both
great and
small

*Morte carent anima, semp̄que priore relicta
Sede, novis domibus vivunt, habitantque recepta.*

—158.

Our death-lesse soules, their former seats refrained,
In harbors new live and lodge entertained.

The Religion of our ancient Gaules, inferred, that soules being eternall, ceased not to remove and change place, from one bodie to another: to which fantasie was also entermixed some consideration of divine justice. For, according to the soules behaviors, during the time she had been with *Alexander*, they sayd, that God appointed it another bodie to dwell-in, either more or lesse painfull, and sutable to her condition.

—*muta ferarum*

*Cogit vinela pati, tracentos ingenti vitiis,
Prædonisque lupis, fallaces vulpibus addit,
Atque ubi per varios annos per mille figuras
Egit letheo purgatos flumine tandem
Rursus ad humana revocat primordia forma.*

—CLAUD. in *Ruff.* l. 482, 491.

**Doctrine
of trans-
migration**

Dumbe bands of beasts he makes mens soules endure,
Blood-thirstie soules he doth to Beares enure,
Craftie to Foxes, to Woolves bent to rapes;
Thus when for many yeares, through many shapes,
He hath them driv'n in *Lethe* lake at last,
Them purg'd he turn's to mans forme whence they
past.

If the soule had been valiant, they placed it
in the bodie of a Lion; if voluptuous, in a
Swine; if faint-harted, in a Stagge, or a Hare;
if malicious in a Foxe, and so of the rest, untill
that being purified by this punishment, it reas-
sumed and tooke the bodie of some other man
again.

*Ipse ego, nam memini, Troiani tempore belli
Panthoides Euphorbus eram.*—OVID. *Metam.* xv. 160.

When *Troy* was won, I, as I call to mind,
Euphorbus was, and *Panthus* sonne by kind.

As touching that alliance betweene us and
beasts, I make no great accompt of it, nor do I
greatly admit it; neither of that which divers
Nations, and namely of the most ancient and
noble, who have not onely received beasts into
their societie and companie, but allowed them a
place farre above themselves; sometimes deeming
them to be familiars and favored of their Gods,
and holding them in a certaine awfull respect and
reverence more than humane, and others acknow-
ledging no other God nor no other Divinity than
they. *Belue à barbaris propter beneficium conse-
crata* (CIC. *Nat. Deor.* i.). *Beasts by the Bar-
barians were made sacred for some benefit.*

—*crocodilon adorat*

*Pars hæc, illa pavet saturam serpentibus. Ibin,
Effigies sacri hic nitet aurea Cercopitheci.*

—JUVEN. *Sat.* xv. 2.

Religious
worship
of ani-
mals

This Country doth the Crocodile adore,
That feares the Storke glutted with Serpents gore,
The sacred Babion here,
In gold shape doth appeare.

—*hic piscem fluminis, illic*

Oppida tota canem venerantur.—7.

A fish here whole Townes reverence most,
A dog they honour in that coast.

And the very same interpretation that *Plutark* giveth unto this error, which is very well taken, is also honourable for them. For, he saith, that (for example sake) it was neither the Cat nor the Oxe that the *Ægyptians* adored, but that in those beasts, they worshipped some image of divine faculties. In this patience and utility, and in that, vivacity, or (as our neighbours the *Borgonians* with all *Germany*) the impatience to see themselves shut up: Whereby they represented the liberty which they loved and adored beyond all other divine faculty, and so of others. But when amongst the most moderate opinions, I meet with some discourses that goe about and labour to shew the neere resemblance betwene us and beasts, and what share they have in our greatest Privileges, and with how much likelihood they are compared unto us, truly I abate much of our presumption, and am easily removed from that imaginary soveraigntie that some give and ascribe unto us above all other creatures. If

**Ancient
care of
animals**

all that were to be contradicted, yet is there a kinde of respect, and a generall duty of humanity, which tieth us not only unto brute beasts that have life and sense, but even unto trees and plants. *Unto men we owe Justice, and to all other creatures that are capable of it, grace and benignity.* There is a kinde of enter-changeable commerce and mutuall bond betweene them and us. I am not ashamed nor afraid to declare the tendernesse of my childish Nature, which is such, that I cannot well reject my Dog, if he chance (although out of season) to fawne upon me, or beg of me to play with him. The Turkes have almshouses, and certaine Hospitals appointed for brute beasts. The Romans had a publike care to breed and nourish Geese, by whose vigilancy their Capitoll had beene saved. The Athenians did precisely ordaine that all manner of Mules which had served or beene imployed about the building of their Temple called *Hecatompodon* should bee free, and suffered to feed wheresoever they pleased, without any let or impeachment. The Agrigentines had an ordinary custome, seriously and solemnly to bury all such beasts as they had held deare; as horses of rare worth and merit, speciall dogs, choise or profitable birds, or such as had but served to make their children sport. And the sumptuous magnificence which in all other things was ordinary and peculiar unto them, appeared also almost notably in the stately sumptuousnesse and costly number of monuments erected to that end, which many ages after have endured and been main-

trained in pride and state. The Egyptians were wont to bury their Wolves, their Dogs, their Cats, their Beares, and Crocodiles in holy places, embalming their carcasses, and at their deaths to weare mourning weeds for them. *Cymon* caused a stately honourable tombe to be erected for the Mares, wherewith he had three times gained the prize at running in the Olimpique games. Ancient *Xantippus* caused his Dog to be enterr'd upon a hill by the Sea shore, which ever since hath beene named by him. And *Plutarch* (as himselfe saith) made it a matter of conscience, in hope of a small gaine, to sell or send an Oxe to the shambles that had served him a long time.

in life
and in
death

CHAP. XII

An Apologie of *Raymond Sebond*

KNOWLEDGE is without all contradiction, a most profitable and chiefe ornament: Those who despise it declare evidently their sottishnesse: Yet doe not I value it at so excessive a rate as some have done; namely *Horillus* the Philosopher, who grounded his chiefe felicity upon it, and held that it lay in her power to make us content and wise: which I cannot beleeve, nor that which others have said, that *Knowledge is the mother of all vertus*; and that all vice proceedeth of ignorance. Which if it be, it is subject to a large interpretation. My house

Mon-
 taigne's
 father
 fostered
 know-
 ledge

hath long since ever stood open to men of understanding, and is very well knowne to many of them : for my father, who commanded the same fifty yeeres and upward, set on fire by that new kinde of earnestnesse wherewith King *Francis* the first imbraced Letters, and raised them unto credit, did with great diligence and much cost endeavour to purchase the acquaintance of learned men : receiving and entertaining them as holy persons, and who had some particular inspiration of divine wisdome ; collecting their sentences and discourses as if they had beene Oracles ; and with so much more reverence and religious regard by how much lesse authority hee had to judge of them : for hee had no knowledge of Letters no more than his predecessors before him. As for me, I love them indeed, but yet I worship them not. Amongst others, *Peter Bunel* (a man in his time, by reason of his learning of high esteeme) having sojourned a few daies at *Montaigne* with my father, and others of his coat, being ready to depart thence, presented him with a booke entituled *Theologia naturalis ; sive liber creaturarum magistri Raimondi de Sebona*. And for so much as the Italian and Spanish tongues were very familiar unto him, and that the booke was written in a kinde of latinized Spanish, whereof divers words had Latine terminations ; he hoped that with little aid he might reape no small profit by it, and commended the same very much unto him, as a booke most profitable, and fitting the dayes in which he gave it him. It was even at what time the new fangles of *Luther*

began to creepe in favour, and in many places to shake the foundation of our ancient beleefe. Wherein he seemed to be well advised, as he who by discourse of reason fore-saw, that this budding disease would easily turne to an execrable Atheisme: For the vulgar wanting the faculty to judge of things by themselves, suffering it selfe to be carried away by fortune, and led on by outward apparances, if once it be possessed with the boldnesse to despise, and malapertnesse to impugne the opinions which tofore it held in awfull reverence (as are those wherein consisteth their salvation) and that some articles of their religion be made doubtfull and questionable, they will soone and easily admit an equall uncertainty in all other parts of their beleefe, as they that had no other grounded authoritie or foundation, but such as are now shaken and weakned, and immediatly reject (as a tyrannicall yoke) all impressions they had in former times received by the authoritie of Lawes, or reverence of ancient custome.

Nam cupide conculcatur nimis ante metutum.

—LOCKE, v. 1150.

That which we fear'd before too much,
We gladly scorne when tis not such.

Undertaking thence forward to allow of nothing, except they have first given their voice and particular consent to the same. My father, a few daies before his death, lighting by chance upon this booke, which before he had neglected, amongst other writings commanded mee to

Montaigne's translation of Sebond translate the same into French. It is easie to translate such Authors, where nothing but the matter is to be represented; but hard and dangerous to undertake such as have added much to the grace and elegancy of the language, namely to reduce them into a weaker and poorer tongue. It was a strange taske, and new occupation for me: but by fortune being then at leisure, and unable to gainsay the commandement of the best father that ever was; I came ere long (as well as I could) to an end of it: wherein he tooke singular delight, and commanded the same to be printed, which accordingly was after his decease performed. I found the conceits of the author to be excellent, the contexture of his worke well followed, and his project full of pietie. Now forasmuch as divers amuse themselves to reade it, and especially Ladies, to whom we owe most service, it hath often beene my hap to help them, when they were reading it, to discharge the booke of two principall objections, which are brought against the same. His drift is bold, and his scope adventurous; for he undertaketh by humane and naturall reasons, to establish and verifie all the articles of Christian religion against Atheists. Wherein (to say truth) I find him so resolute and so happy, as I deeme it a thing impossible to doe better in that argument, and thinke that none equalleth him. Which booke seeming to me both over-rich and exquisite, being written by an author, whose name is so little knowne, and of whom, all we know, is, that he was a

Spaniard, who about two hundred yeeres since professed Physicke in *Tbolouse*: I demanded once of *Adrianus Turnebus* (a man who knew all things) what such a booke might be, who answered, that he deemed the same to be some Quintessence extracted from out Saint *Thomas Aquinas*: For, in good truth, onely such a spirit fraught with so infinite erudition, and so full of admirable subtilitie, was capable of such and so rare imaginations. So it is, that whosoever be the author or deviser of it (the title whereof ought not without further reason to be taken from *Sebond*) he was a very sufficient-worthie man, and endowed with sundry other excellent qualities. The first thing he is reprov'd for in his Booke, is, that *Christians wrong themselves much, in that they ground their beleefe upon humane reasons, which is conceived but by faith, and by a particular inspiration of God.* Which objection seemeth to containe some zeale of pietie; by reason whereof we ought with so much more mildnes and regard, endeavour to satisfie them that propose it. It were a charge, more befitting a man conversant, and sutable to one acquainted with the holy Scriptures, than me, who am altogether ignorant in them. Never, thelesse I thinke, that even as to a matter so divine and high and so much exceeding all humane understanding, as is this Verity, wherewith it hath pleased the goodnesse of God to enlighten us, it is most requisit, that he afford and lend us his helpe; And that, with an extraordinary and privileged favour, that so we may

Faith and the better conceive and entertaine the same:
reason For, I suppose that meanes meere ly humane can
no way be capable of it; which if they were, so
many rare and excellent mindes, and so plente-
ously stored with naturall faculties, as have beene
in times past, would never by their discourse,
have mist the attayning of this knowledge. *It
is faith onely, which lively and assuredly embraceth
the high mysteries of our Religion.* And no man
can doubt, but that it is a most excellent and
commendable enterprise, properly to accommo-
date and fit to the service of our faith, the
natural helpes and humane implements which
God hath bestowed upon us. And no question
is to be made, but that it is the most honourable
employment we can put them unto; and that
there is no occupation or intent more worthy
a good Christian, than by all meanes, studies
and imaginations, carefully to endeavour, how to
embellish, amplifie and extend the truth of his
beleefe and religion. *It is not enough for us to
serve God in spirit and soule,* we owe him be-
sides, and wee yeeld unto him a corporall wor-
shipping; we applie our limbe, our motions, and
all externall things, to honour him. The like
ought to be done, and we should accompany
our faith with all the reason we possesse: Yet
always with this proviso, that we thinke it doth
not depend of us, and that all our strength and
arguments can never attaine to so supernaturall
and divine a knowledge: Except it seize upon
us, and as it were enter into us by an extra-
ordinarie infusion: And unlesse it also enter into

us, not onely by discourse, but also by humane meanes; she is not in her dignitie, nor in her glorie. And verily I feare therefore, that except this way, we should not enjoy it. Had we fast-hold on God, by the interposition of a lively faith; had we hold-fast on God by himselfe, and not by us; had we a divine foundation, then should not humane and worldly occasions have the power so to shake and totter us, as they have. Our hold would not then yeeld to so weake a batterie: The love of noveltie; the constraint of Princes; the good successe of one partie; the rash and casuall changing of our opinions, should not then have the power to shake and alter our beleefe. We should not suffer the same to be troubled at the wil and pleasure of a new argument, and at the perswasion, no, not of all the rhetorike that ever was: we should withstand these boistrous billowes with an inflexible and unmoveable constancie:

A Divine
founda-
tion

*Illisæ fluctus rupes, ut vasta refundit,
Et varias circum latrantes dissipat undas,
—Mole sua.—* VIRG. *Æn.* vii. 587.

As huge rocks doe regorge th' invective waves,
And dissipate the billowes brawling braves,
Which these gainst those still bellow out,
Those being big and standing stout.

If this raie of Divinitie did in any sort touch us; it would everie where appeare: Not only our words, but our actions, would beare some shew and lustre of it. Whatsoever should proceed from us, might be seene inlightned with this noble and matchlesse brightnes. We should

Our lives
should
witness
our faith

blush for shame, that in humane sects, there was never any so factious, what difficultie or strangenesse aever his doctrine maintained, but would in some sort conforme his behaviors and square his life unto it: Whereas so divine and heavenly an institution never markes christians but by the tongue. And will you see whether it be so? Compare but our manners unto a Turke, or a Pagan, and we must needs yeeld unto them: Whereas in respect of our religions superioritie, we ought by much, yea by an incomparable distance, out-shine them in excellencie: And well might a man say, *Are they so just, so charitable, and so good? Then must they be Christians.* All other outward shewes and exterior apparences are common to all religions: As hope, affiance, events, ceremonies, penitence and martyrdome. *The peculiar badge of our truth should be vertue;* As it is the heavenliest and most difficult marke, and worthiest production of Verity it self. And therefore was our good Saint *Lewis* in the right, when that Tartarian King, who was become a Christian, intended to come to *Lions*, to kisse the Popes feet, and there to view the sanctitie he hoped to find in our lives and manners, instantly to divert him from it, fearing lest our dissolute manners, and licentious kind of life, might scandalize him, and so alter his opinion fore-conceived of so sacred a religion. Howbeit the contrary happened to another, who for the same effect being come to *Rome*, and there viewing the dissolutenesse of the Prelates and people of those dayes, was so much the more confirmed

in our religion; considering with himselfe what force and divinity it must of consequence have, since it was able, amidst so many corruptions and so viciously-polluted hands, to maintaine her dignitie and splendor. *Had we but one onely graine of faith, wee should then be able to remove mountaines from out their place,* saith the holy Writ. Our actions being guided, and accompanied with divinitie, should not then be meerely humane, but even as our believe, containe some wonder-causing thing. *Brevis est institutio vite honeste beataque; si credas. The institution of an honest and blessed life is but short, if a man beleeve.* Some make the world beleeve, that they beleieve things they never doe. Others (and they are the greater number) perswade themselves they doe so, as unable to conceive what it is to beleeve. We thinke it strange if in warres, which at this time doe so oppresse our state, we see the events to float so strangely, and with so common and ordinarie a manner to change and alter: The reason is, we adde nothing unto it but our owne. Justice, which is on the one side, is used but for a cloake and ornament; she is indeed alleadged, but nor received, nor harboured, nor wedded. She is as in the mouth of a Lawyer, and not as she ought in the heart and affection of the partie. *God oweth his extraordinarie assistance unto faith and religion, and not to our passions.* Men are but directors unto it and use religion for a shew: It ought to be cleane contrarie. Doe but marke if we doe not handle it as it were a peece of waxe, from out so right and so firme a rule,

Lack of
faith

Religious to draw so many contrary shapes. When was
disputes this better scene than nowadaies in *France*? Those which have taken it on the left, and those who have taken it on the right hand; Such as speake the false, and such who speake the truth of it, do so alike employ and fit the same to their violent and ambitious enterprises, proceede unto it with so conformable a proceeding in riotousnesse and injustice, they make the diversitie they pretend in their opinions doubtful, and hard to be beleaved, in a thing from which depends the conduct and law of our life. Can a man see from one same Schoole and Discipline; more united and like customes and fashions to proceed? View but the horrible impudencie wherewith we tosse divine reasons to and fro, and how irreligiously wee have both rejected and taken them againe, according as fortune hath in these publike stormes transported us from place to place. This solemne proposition; *Whether it be lawfull for a subject, for the defence of religion, to rebell and take armes against his Prince*: Call but to minde, in what mouthes but a twelve-moneth agoe the affirmative of the same was the chiefe pillar of the one part; the negative was the maine-underprop of the other: And listen now from whence oommeth the voyce and instruction of one and other: and whether armes clatter and clang lesse for this, than for that cause. And we burne those men, which say, that truth must be made to abide the yoke of our need: And how much worse doth *France*, than speake it? Let us confesse

the truth : he that from out this lawfull army should cull out, first those who follow it for meere zeale of a religious affection, then such as only regard the defence and protection of their countries lawes, or service of their Prince ; whether hee could ever erect a compleat company of armed men. How comes it to passe, that so few are found, who have still held one same wil and progresse in our publike revolutions, and that we see them now and then but faintly, and sometimes, as fast as they can headlong to runne into the action ? And the same men, now by their violence and rashnesse, and now through their slownes, demissnes, and heavines to spoile, and as it were overthrow our affaires, but that they are thrust into them by casuall motives, and particular consideration, according to the diversities wherewith they are moved ? *I plainly perceive, we lend nothing unto devotion but the offices that flatter our passions.* There is no hostilitie so excellent, as that which is absolutely Christian. Our zeale worketh wonders, when ever it secondeth our inclination toward hatred, crueltie, ambition, avarice, detraction, or rebellion. Towards goodnes, benignitie, or temperance, it goeth but slowly, and against the haire, except miraculously, some rare complexion leade him unto it, it neither runnes nor flieth to it. *Our religion was ordained to root out vices, but it shrowdeth, fostreth and provoketh them.* As commonly wee say, *We must not make a foole of God.* Did wee beleeve in him, I say not through faith, but with a simple

Insincerity in religion

Choice of life or death beleefe, yea (I speake it to our confusion) did we but beleewe and know him, as wee doe another storie, or as one of our companions, we should then love him above all other things, by reason of the infinite goodnes, and unspeakable beauty that is, and shines in him: Had he but the same place in our affections, that riches, pleasures, glory and our friends have: The best of us doth not so much feare to wrong him, as he doth to injurie his neighbour, his kinsman, or his master. Is there so simple a minde, who on the one side having before him the object of one of our vicious pleasures, and on the other to his full view, perfect knowledge and assured perswasion, the state of an immortall glorie, that would enter into contention of one for the other? And if we often refuse it through meere contempt; for what draws us to blaspheming, unlesse it be at all adventures, the desire it selfe of the offence? The Philosopher *Antisthenes*, when he was initiated in the mysteries of *Orpheus*, the priest, saying, unto him, that such as vowed themselves to that religion, should after death receive eternall and perfect felicities, replied, if thou beleewe it, why dost thou not die thy self? *Diogenes* more roughly (as his manner was) and further from our purpose, answered the priest, who perswaded him to be one of his order, that so he might come unto, and attaine the happinesse of the other world: Wilt thou have me beleewe, that those famous men *Agessilaus* and *Epaminondas*, shall be miserable, and that thou, who art but an asse, and dost nothing of any worth, shalt be

happy, because thou art a Priest? Did we but receive these large promises of everlasting blessedness with like authoritie, as we do a philosophical discourse, we should not then have death in that horror as we have :

Power of
the idea
of immor-
tality

*Non jam se moriens dissolvi conquereretur,
Sed magis ire foras, vestemque relinquere ut anguis
Gauderet praelonga senex aut cornua cervus.*

—LUCA. iii. 630.

He would not now complaine to be dissolved dying,
But rather more rejoyce, that now he is forth-flying,
Or as a Snake his coat out-worne,
Or as old Harts, doth cast his horne.

I will be dissolved should we say, and be with *Jesus Christ*. The forcible power of *Platoes* discourse, of the immortality of the soule, provoked divers of his Schollers unto death, that so they might more speedily enjoy the hopes he told them of. All which is a most evident token, that we receive our religion, but according to our fashion, and by our owne hands, and no otherwise than other religions are received. We are placed in the country, where it was in use; where we regard her antiquity, or the authority of those who have maintained her; where we feare the menaces wherewith she threatneth all mis-beleever, or follow her promises. The considerations ought to be applied and employed to our beleefe, but as Subsidiaries: they be humane bonds. Another Country, other Testimonies, equall promises: alike menaces, might semblably imprint a cleane contrary religion in us: we are Christians by

Plato on the same title, as we are either Perigordins or
 Atheism Germans. And as *Plato* saith: *There are few so confirmed in Atheisme, but some great danger will bring unto the knowledge of Gods divine power.* The part doth not touch or concerne a good Christian: It is for mortall and worldly religions, to be received by a humane convoy. *What faith is that like to be, which cowardice of heart doth plant, and weaknesse establish in us?* A goodly faith, that beleeveth that which it beleeveth, onely because it wanteth the courage not to beleieve the same. A vicious passion, as that of inconstancie and astonishment is, can it possibly ground any regular production in our minds or soules? They establish (saith he) by the reason of their judgement, that whatsoever is reported of hell, or of after-comming paines, is but a fiction; but the occasions to make triall of it, offering it selfe, at what time age or sickenes doth sommon them to death: the [terroure] of the same, through the horreur of their future condition, doth then replenish them with another kinde of beleefe. And because such impressions make mens hearts fearefull, hee by his lawes, inhibiteth all instruction of such threats, and the perswasion, that any evill may come unto man from the Gods, except for his greater good, and for a medicinable effect, whensoever he falleth into it. [They] report of Bion, that being infected with the Atheismes of *Theodorus*, he had for a long time made but a mockerie of religious men; but when death did once seize upon him, he yeelded unto the extremest super-

stitutions: As if the Gods would either be removed, or come againe, according to Bions businesse. *Plato* and these examples conclude, that wee are brought to beleeeve in God, either by reason, or by compulsion. Atheisme being a proposition, as unnaturall and monstrous as it is hard and uneasie to be established in any mans minde, how insolent and unruly soever hee may be. Many have beene seene, to have conceived, either through vanitie or fiercenesse, strange and seld-knownne opinions, as if they would become reformers of the world, by affecting a profession onely in countenance: who, though they be sufficiently foolish, yet are they not powerfull enough, to ground or settle it in their consciences. Yet will not such leave to lift-up their joyned hands to heaven, give them but a stoccado on their breast: and when feare shall have suppress, or sicknesse vanquished this licentious fervour of a wavering minde, then will they suffer themselves gently to be reclaimed, and discreetly to be perswaded, to give credit unto true beleefe and publike examples. A decree seriously digested is one thing, and these shallow and superficial impressions another, which bred by the dissolutenesse of a loose spirit, do rashly and uncertainely float up and downe the fantasie of a man. Oh men most braine-sicke and miserable, that endeavour to be worse than they can! The error of Paganisme, and the ignorance of our sacred truth, was the cause of this great soules-fall; but onely great in worldly greatnes; also in this next abuse, which is, that children and

Stable
and
unstable
belief

Natural religion old men, are found to be more susceptible or capable of religion, as if it were bred and had her credit from our imbecillitie. *The bond which should binde our judgement, tie our will, enforce and joyne our soules to our Creator, should be a bond taking his doubling and forces, not from our considerations, reasons and passions, but from a divine and supernaturall compulsion, having but one forme, one countenance, and one grace; which is the authoritie and grace of God.* Now our heart being ruled, and our soule commanded by faith, reason willeth, that she drawes all our other parts to the service of her intent, according to their power and facultie. Nor is it likely, but that this vast worlds-frame must beare the impression of some markes, therein imprinted by the hand of this great-wondrous Architect, and that even in all things therein created, there must be some image, somewhat resembling, and having coherencie with the workeman that wrought and framed them. He hath left imprinted in these high and misterious works, the characters of his divinitie: and onely our imbecilitie is the cause, wee can nor discover, nor read them. It is that which himselve telleth us, *That by his visible operations, hee doth manifest those that are invisible to us.* Sebond hath much travelled about this worthie studie, and sheweth us, *That there is no parcell of this world, that either belgeth or shameth his Maker.* It were a manifest wronging of Gods goodnesse, if all this universe did not consent and simpatize with our beleefe. Heaven, earth, the elements, our bodies, our soule; yea

all things else, conspire and agree unto it: onely the meanes how to make use of them must be found out: They will instruct us sufficiently, be we but capable to learne and apt to understand. For, *this world is a most holy Temple, into which man is brought there to behold Statues and Images; not wrought by mortall hand, but such as the secret thought of God hath made sensible, as the Sunne, the Starres, the Waters and the Earth, thereby to represent the intelligible unto us. The invisible things of God (saith Saint Paul) doe evidently appeare by the creation of the world, judging of his eternall Wisedome and Divinity by his workes.*

'This world is a most holy temple'

*Atque adeo faciem cali non invidet orbi,
Ipse Deus, vultusque inos corpusque recludit,
Semper volvendo: sequa ipsam inculcat et offert
Ut bene cognosci possit, doceatque videndo
Qualis eat doceatque suas attendere leges.*

—MANIL. IV. 840.

God to the world doth not heav'ns face envie,
But by still moving it doth notifie
His face and essence, doth himselfe applie,
That he may well be knownen, and teach by seeing,
How he goes, how we should marke his decreeing,

Now our reason and humane discourse, is as the lumpish and barren matter; and the grace of God is the forme thereof. T'is that, which giveth both fashion and worth unto it. Even as the vertuous actions of *Socrates* and *Cato*, are but frivolous and [un]profitable, because they had not their end, and regarded not the love and obedience of the true creator of all things; and namely, because they were ignorant of the true knowledge of God: So is it of our imagina-

Influence of Sebonds tions and discourse ; they have a kind of body, but a shapelesse masse, without light or fashion, unlesse faith and the grace of God be joyned thereunto. Faith, giving as it were a tincture and lustre unto *Sebonds* arguments, make them the more firme and solid : They may well serve for a direction and guide to a yong learner, to lead and set him in the right way of this knowledge. They in some sort fashion and make him capable of the grace of God, by meanes whereof our beliefe is afterward atchieved and made perfect. I know a man of authority, brought up in letters, who confessed unto me, that he was reclaimed from out the errours of mis-believing by the Arguments of *Sebonds*. And if it happen, they be dispoyled of this ornament, and of the helpe and approbation of faith, and taken but for meere humane fantazies, yet to combat those that headlong are fallen into the dreadfull error, and horrible darkenesse of irreligion, even then, shall they be found as firme and forcible, as any other of that condition, that may be opposed against them. So that we shall stand upon termes to say unto our parties,

Si melius quid habes, accerse, vel imperium fer.

—HOR. 1. *Epist.* v. 6.

If you have any better, send for me,
Or else that I bid you, contented be.

Let them either abide the force of our proofes, or shew us some others, upon some other subject, better compact and more full. I have in a manner unawares halfe engaged my selfe in the

second objection, to which I had purposed to frame an answer for *Sebond*. *Some say his Arguments are weak, and simple to verifie what he would* (The second Objection); and undertake to front him easily. Such fellows must somewhat more roughly be handled: for they are more dangerous, and more malicious than the first. Man doth willingly apply other mens sayings to the advantage of the opinions he hath fore-judged in himselfe. To an Atheist all writings make for Atheisme. He with his owne Venome infecteth the innocent matter. These have some preoccupation of judgement that makes their taste wallowish and tastelesse, to conceive the reasons of *Sebond*. As for the rest, they thinke to have faire play offered them, if they have free liberty to combat our religion with meere worldly weapons; which they durst not charge, did they behold her in her Majesty, full of authority and commandement. The meanes I use to suppress this frenzy, and which seemeth the fittest for my purpose, is to crush, and trample this humane pride and fiercenesse under foot, to make them feeble the emptinesse, vacuitie, and no worth of man: and violently to pull out of their hands, the silly weapons of their reason; to make them stoope, and bite and snarle at the ground, under the authority and reverence of Gods Majesty. Onely to her belongeth science and wisdom, it is she alone can judge of her selfe; and from her we steale, whatsoever we repute, value, and count our selves to be.

**Pride of
intellect**

Οὐ γὰρ ἐὰ φρονεῖν ὁ θεὸς μέγα ἄλλον ἢ ἑαυτὸν.

Of greater, better, wiser minde than he,
God can abide no mortall man should be.

Let us suppress this over-weening, the first foundation of the tyrannie of the wicked spirit : *Deus superbis resistit : humilibus autem dat gratiam* (Prov. iii. 14, iv. 6. 1 Pet. v. 5). God resisteth the proud, but giveth grace to the humble. Plato saith, That intelligence is in all the Gods, but little or nothing at all in men. Meane-while it is a great comfort unto a Christian man, to see our mortall implements, and fading tooles, so fitly sorted to our holy and divine faith; that when they are employed to the mortal and fading subjects of their Nature, they are never more forcibly, nor more joyntlie appropriated unto them. Let us then see whether man hath any other stronger reasons in his power, then *Sebondes*, and whether it lie in him, by argument or discourse, to come to any certainty. For, Saint *Augustine*, pleading against these kind of men, because he would upbraid them with their injustice, in that they hold the parts of our beleefe to be false, and that our reason faileth in establishing them. And to shew, that many things may be, and have beene, whereof our discourse can never ground the nature and the causes; He proposeth and setteth downe before them certaine knowen and undoubted experiments, wherein man confesseth to see nothing; which he doth as all things else, with a curious and ingenious search. More must be done, and

they must be taught, that to convince the weakness of their reason, we need not goe far to cull out rare examples: And that it is so defective and blinde, as there is no facility so cleare, that is cleare enough unto her; that easie and uneasie is all one to her; that all subjects equally, and Nature in generall disavoweth her jurisdiction, and interposition. What preacheth truth unto us, when it biddeth us flie and shun worldly Philosophy; when it so often telleth us, that *all our wisdome is but folly before God; that of all vanities, man is the greatest; that man, who presumeth of his knowledge, doth not yet know what knowledge is: and that man, who is nothing, if he but thinke to be something, seduceth and deceiveth himselfe?* These sentences of the Holy Ghost, doe so lively and manifestly expresse, what I would maintaine, as I should neede no other prooffe against such as with all submission and obeysance would yeeld to his authority. But these will needs be whipt to their owne cost, and cannot abide their reason to be combated, but by it selfe. Let us now but consider man alone without other help, armed but with his owne weapons, and unprovided of the grace and knowledge of God, which is all his honour, all his strength, and all the ground of his being. Let us see what hold-fast, or free-hold he hath in this gorgeous, and goodly equipage. Let him with the utmost power of his discourse make me understand, upon what foundation, he hath built those great advantages and ods, he supposeth to have over other creatures. Who

‘All our
wisdome
is but
folly
before
God’

What is man that Thou art mindful of him? hath perswaded him, that this admirable moving of heavens vaults; that the eternal light of these lampes so fiercely rowling over his head; that the horror-moving and continuall motion of this infinite vaste Ocean, were established, and continue so many ages for his commoditie and service? Is it possible to imagine any thing so ridiculous, as this miserable and wretched creature, which is not so much as master of himselfe, exposed and subject to offences of all things, and yet dareth call himselfe Master and Emperour of this Universe? In whose power it is not to know the least part of it, much lesse to command the same. And the privilege, which he so fondly challengeth, to be the onely absolute creature in this huge worlds-frame, perfectly able to know the absolute beautie, and severall parts thereof, and that he is only of power to yeeld the great Architect thereof, due thanks for it, and to keepe account both of the receipts and layings out of the world. Who hath sealed him this patent? Let him shew us his letters of privilege, for so noble and so great a charge. Have they beene granted onely in favour of the wise? Then concerne they but a few. Are the foolish and wicked worthy of so extraordinary a favour? Who being the worst part of the world, should they be preferred before the rest? Shall we beleeeve him; *Quorum igitur causa quis dixerit effectum esse mundum? Eorum scilicet animantium quæ ratione utuntur. Hi sunt dii et homines, quibus profecto nihil est melius* (Cic. Nat. Deo. ii.). *For whose cause then shall a*

man say, that the world was made? In sooth, **Great-**
 for those creatures sake, which have the use of **ness and**
 reason: Those are Gods and men, than whom **beauty**
 assuredly nothing is better. We shall never **of the**
 sufficiently baffle the impudency of this con- **heavens**
 joyning. But silly wretch, what hath he in
 him worthy such an advantage? To consider
 the incorruptible life of the celestiall bodies,
 their beauty, greatnesse, and agitation, continued
 with so just and regular a course:

—*cum suspicimus magni caelestia mundi
 Templa super, stellisque micantibus Æthera fixum,
 Et venit in mentem Luna Solisque viarum.*

—LUCR. v. 1214.

When we of this great world the heavenly temples
 see
 Above us, and the skies with shine-starres fixt
 to be,
 And marke in our discourse,
 Of Sunne and Moone the course.

To consider the power and domination, these
 bodies have, not onely upon our lives, and con-
 dition of our fortune;

Facta etenim et vitas hominum suspendit ab astris.

—MANIL. *Astron.* iii. 58.

For on the stars he doth suspend
 Of men, the deeds, the lives, and end.

But also over our dispositions and inclinations,
 our discourses and wils, which they rule, pro-
 voke, and move at the pleasure of their influences,
 as our reason finds and teacheth us.

**Power
of the
stars**

—*speculatâque longé*

*Deprendit tacitis dominantia legibus astra,
Et totum alternâ mundum ratione moveri,
Fatorûmque vices certis discernere signis.*

—MANIL. *Astron.* i. 62.

By speculation it from far discern's,
How star's by secret lawes do guide our sterns,
And this whole world is moov'd by entercourse
And by sure signes of fates to know the course.

Seeing that not a man alone, nor a King only,
But Monarchies and Empires, yea, and all this
world below is moved at the shaking of one of
the least heavenly motions.

*Quantaque quam parvi faciant discrimina motus :
Tantum est hoc regnum quod regibus imperat ipsis.*

—MANIL. *Astron.* iv. 93.

How little motions make, how different affection :
So great this Kingdome is, that hath Kings in sub-
jection.

If our vertue, vices, sufficiency and know-
ledge, and the same discourse we make of the
power of the starres, and the comparison be-
tweene them and us, commeth as our reason
judgeth by their meane and through their favour.

—*furit alter amore,
Et pontum tranare potest et vertere Troiam,
Alterius sors est scribendis legibus apta :
Ecce patrem nati perimunt, natosque parentes,
Mutuaque armati coeunt in vulnera fratres,
Non nostrum hoc bellum est, coguntur tanta movere,
Inque suas ferri pœnas, lacerandaque membra :
Hoc quoque fatale est sic ipsum expendere fatum.*

—MANIL. *Astron.* iv. 78, 118.

One with love madded, his love to enjoy,
 Can crosse the seas, and overturne all *Troy*:
 Anothers lot is to set lawes severe.
 Loe sonnes kill fathers, fathers sonnes destroy,
 Brothers for mutuall wounds their armes doe beare,
 Such war is not our owne, fore't are we to it,
 Drawne to our owne paines, our owne limbs to
 teare;
 Fates so t'observe t'is fatall, we must doe it.

The...
 witness
 of the
 Sun

If we hold that portion of reason, which we have, from the distribution of heaven, how can she make us equall unto it? How can she submit his essence and conditions unto our knowledge? Whatsoever we behold in those huge bodies, doth affright us: *Quæ molitio, quæ ferramenta, qui vectes, quæ machine, qui ministri tanti operis fuerunt?* (Cic. Nat. Deo. i.). *What workmanship? What yron-braces? What maine beames, what engines? What Masons and Carpenters, were to so great a worke?* Why doe we then deprive them of soule, of life, and of discourse? Have we discovered or knowen any unmoveable or insensible stupidity in them? We, who have no commerce but of obedience with them? Shall we say we have seene the use of a reasonable soule, in no other creature, but in man? What? Have we seene any thing comparable to the Sunne? Leaveth he to be, because we have seene nothing semblable unto it? And doth he leave his moving, because his equall is no where to be found? If that which we have not seene, is not, our knowledge is wonderfull abridged. *Quæ sunt tante animi angustia? What narrownesse of my heart is*

Man is the most frail of creatures such? Be they not dreames of humane vanity, to make a celestially earth, or world of the Moone? As *Anaxagoras* did? And therein to plant worldly habitations, and as *Plato* and *Plutarch* doe, erect their colonies for our use. And to make of our knowne earth a bright shining planet? *Inter cetera mortalitatis incommoda, et hoc est caligo mentium: nec tantum necessitas errandi, sed errorum amor* (*SEN. Ira, ii. cap. 9*). Among other discommodities of our mortality this is one, there is darknesse in our minds, and in us not onely necessity of erring, but a love of errors. *Corruptibile corpus aggravat animam, et deprimit terrena inhabitatio sensum multa cogitantem* (*SEN. Epist. xcv.*). Our corruptible body doth overlode our soule, and our dwelling on earth weighes downe our sense, that is set to thinke of many matters. Presumption is our naturall and originall infirmitie. Of all creatures man is the most miserable and fraile, and therewithall the proudest and disdainfullest. Who perceiveth and seeth himselfe placed here, amidst their filth and mire of the world, fast tied and nailed to the worst, most senselesse, and drooping part of the world, in the vilest corner of the house, and farthest from heavens coape, with those creatures, that are the worst of the three conditions; and yet dareth imaginarily place himselfe above the circle of the Moone, and reduce heaven under his feet. It is through the vanity of the same imagination, that he dare equall himselfe to God, that he ascribeth divine conditions unto himselfe, that he selecteth

and separateth himselfe from out the ranke of other creatures; to which his fellow-brethren and compeers, he cuts out and shareth their parts, and allotteth them what portions of meanes or forces he thinkes good. How knoweth he by the vertue of his understanding the inward and secret motions of beasts? By what comparison from them to us doth he conclude the brutishnesse, he ascribeth unto them? When I am playing with my Cat, who knowes whether she have more sport in dallying with me, than I have in gaming with her? We entertaine one another with mutuall apish trickes, If I have my houre to begin or to refuse, so hath she hers. *Plato* in setting forth the golden age under *Saturne*, amongst the chiefe advantages that man had then, reporteth the communication he had with beasts, of whom enquiring and taking instruction, he knew the true qualities, and differences of every one of them: by, and from whom he got an absolute understanding and perfect wisdom, whereby he led a happier life than we can doe. Can we have a better prooffe to judge of mans impudency, touching beasts? This notable Author was of opinion, that in the greatest part of the corporall forme, which nature hath bestowed on them, she hath onely respected the use of the Prognostications, which in his daies were thereby gathered. That defect which hindreth the communication betweene them and us, why may it not as well be in us, as in them? It is a matter of divination to guesse in whom the fault is, that we under-

Mon-
taigne's
cat

Communication with animals stand not one another. For, we understand them no more than they us. By the same reason, may they as well esteeme us beasts, as we them. It is no great marvell if we understand them not: no more doe we the Cornish, the Welch, or Irish. Yet have some boasted that they understood them, as *Apollonius Thyaneus*, *Melampus*, *Tiresias*, *Thales* and others. And if it be (as *Cosmographers* report) that there are Nations, who receive and admit a Dogge to be their King, it must necessarily follow, that they give a certaine interpretation to his voice and moving. We must note the parity that is betweene us. We have some meane understanding of their senses, so have beasts of ours, about the same measure. They flatter and faune upon us, they threat, and entreat us, so doe we them. Touching other matters, we manifestly perceive, that there is a full and perfect communication amongst them, and that not onely those of one same kinde understand one another, but even such as are of different kindes.

*Et mutæ pecudes, et denique secla ferarum
Dissimiles fuerunt voces variasque cluere
Cum metus aut dolor est, aut cum iam gaudia gliscunt.*

—LUCR. v. 1069.

Whole heard's (though dumbe) of beasts, both wild
and tame
Use divers voices, diffrent sounds to frame,
As joy, or griefe, or feare,
Upspringing passions beare.

By one kinde of barking of a Dogge, the
Horse knoweth he is angrie; by another voice

of his, he is nothing dismayed. Even in beasts, that have no voice at all, by the reciprocall kinnesse, which we see in them, we easily inferre there is some other meane of entercommunication: their jestures treat, and their motions discourse.

Communi-
cation
between
animals

*Non alia longè ratione atque ipsa videtur
Protrahere ad gestum, pueros infantia lingua.*

—*Ib.* 1040.

No otherwise, then for they cannot speake,
Children are drawne by signes their mindes to
breake.

And why not, as well as our dumbe men dispute, argue and tell histories by signes? I have seene some so ready and so excellent in it, that (in good sooth) they wanted nothing to have their meaning perfectly understood. Doe we not daily see lovers with the lookes and rowling of their eyes, plainly shew when they are angrie or pleased, and how they entreat and thanke one another, assigne meetings, and expresse any passion?

*E'l silenzio ancor suole
Haver prieghi et parole.*

Silence also hath a way,
Words and prayers to convey.

What doe we with our hands? Doe we not sue and entreat, promise and performe, call men unto us and discharge them, bid them farwell and be gone, threaten, pray, beseech, deny, refuse, demand, admire, number, confesse, repent, feare, bee ashamed, doubt, instruct, command,

The language of gesture incite, encourage, sweare, witnesse, accuse, condemne, absolve, injurie, despise, defie, despight, flatter, applaud, blesse, humble, mocke, reconcile, recommend, exalt, shew gladnesse, rejoyce, complaine, waile, sorrow, discomfort, dispaire, cry out, forbid, declare silence and astonishment? And what not? With so great variation, and amplifying, as if they would contend with the tongue. And with our head, doe we not invite and call to us, discharge and send away, avow, disavow, belie, welcome, honour, worship, disdain, demand, direct, rejoyce, affirme, deny, complaine, cherish, blandish, chide, yeeld, submit, brag, boast, threaten, exhort, warrant, assure, and enquire? What doe we with our eye-lids? and with our shoulders? To conclude, there is no motion, nor jesture that doth not speake, and speakes in a language very easie, and without any teaching to be understood: nay, which is more, it is a language common and publike to all: whereby it followeth (seeing the varietie, and severall use it hath from others) that this must rather be deemed the proper and peculiar speech of humane nature. I omit that, which necessitie in time of need doth particularly instruct and suddenly teach such as need it; and the alphabets upon fingers, and grammars by jestures; and the sciences which are onely exercised and expressed by them: and the nations *Plinie* reporteth to have no other speech. An Ambassador of the Citie of *Abdera*, after he had talked a long time unto *Agis* King of *Sparta*, said thus unto him: O King, what answer wilt

thou that I beare backe unto our citizens? Thus **The**
 (answered he) that I have suffered thee to speake **polity of**
 all thou wouldst, and as long as thou pleasedst, **bees**
 without ever speaking one word. Is not this
 a kinde of speaking silence, and easie to be
 understood? And as for other matters; what
 sufficiency is there in us, that we must not
 acknowledge from the industry and labours of
 beasts? Can there be a more formall, and better
 ordered policie, divided into so severall charges
 and offices, more constantly entertained, and
 better maintained, than that of Bees? Shall
 we imagine, their so orderly disposing of their
 actions, and managing of their vacations, have
 so proportioned and formall a conduct without
 discourse, reason, and forecast?

*His quidam signis atque hæc exempla sequuti,
 Esse apibus partem divinæ mentis, et haustus
 Æthereos dixere.*—VIRG. Georg. iv. 219.

Some by these signes, by these examples moved,
 Said that in Bees there is and may be proved
 Some taste of heavenly kinde,
 Part of celestially minde.

The Swallowes which at the approach of
 spring time we see to pry, to search, and ferret
 all the corners of our houses; is it without judge-
 ment they seeke, or without discretion they chuse
 from out a thousand places, that which is fittest
 for them, to build their nests and lodging? And
 in that pretty cunning contexture, and admir-
 able framing of their houses, would birds rather
 fit themselves with a round, than a square figure,

The witness of birds and spiders with an obtuse, than a right angle, except they knew both the commodities and effects of them? Would they (suppose you) first take water and then clay, unlesse they guessed that the hardnesse of the one is softned by the moistnesse of the other? Would they floore their palace with mosse or downe, except they foresaw that the tender parts of their young ones shall thereby lie more soft and easie? Would they shroud and shelter themselves from stormy weather, and build their cabbins toward the East, unlesse they knew the different conditions of winde, and considered that some are more healthfull and safe for them than some others? Why doth the Spider spin her artificiall web thicke in one place and thin in another? And now useth one, and then another knot, except she had an imaginary kinde of deliberation, forethought, and conclusion? We perceive by the greater part of their workes what excellency beasts have over us, and how weake our art and short our cunning is, if we goe about to imitate them. We see notwithstanding, even in our grosest workes, what faculties we employ in them, and how our minde employeth the uttermost of her skill and forces in them: why should wee not thinke as much of them? Wherefore doe we attribute the workes, which excell what ever we can performe, either by nature or by art, unto a kinde of unknowne, naturall, and servile inclination? Wherein unawares wee give them a great advantage over us, to infer that nature, led by a certaine loving kindnesse, leadeth and

accompanieth them (as it were by the hand) unto all the actions and commodities of their life; and that she forsaketh and leaveth us to the hazard of fortune; and by art to quest and finde out those things that are behovefull and necessarie for our preservation: and therewithall denieth us the meanes to attaine by any institution and contention of spirit to the naturall sufficiency of brute beasts: So that their brutish stupidity doth in all commodities exceed, whatsoever our divine intelligence can effect. Verily, by this account wee might have just cause and great reason to terme her a most unjust and partiall stepdame: But there is no such thing, our policy is not so deformed and disordered. *Nature hath generally imbraced all her creatures:* And there is not any, but she hath amply stored with all necessary meanes for the preservation of their being. For the daily plaints, which I often heare men make (when the licence of their conceits doth sometimes raise them above the clouds, and then headlong tumbling them downe even to the *Antipodes*) exclaiming that man is the onely forsaken and out-cast creature, naked on the bare earth, fast bound and swathed, having nothing to cover and arme himselfe withall but the spoile of others; whereas Nature hath clad and mantled all other creatures, some with shels, some with huskes, with rindes, with haire, with wooll, with stings, with bristles, with hides, with mosse, with feathers, with skales, with fleeces, and with silke, according as their quality might need, or their condition require: And hath fenced

Nature
the
mother
of all

False and armed them with clawes, with nailes, with
com- talons, with hoofes, with teeth, with stings, and
plaints with hornes, both to assaile others and to defend
of the themselves : And hath moreover instructed them
insuffi- in every thing fit and requisite for them, as to
ciency swim, to runne, to creepe, to flie, to roare, to
 bellow, and to sing : where as man only (Oh
 silly wretched man) can neither goe, nor speake,
 nor shift, nor feed himselfe, unlesse it be to
 whine and weepe onely, except hee bee taught.

*Tum porro, puer ut sævis projectus ab undis
 Navita, nudus humi jacet infans, indigus omni
 Vitali auxilio, cùm primùm in luminis oras
 Nenibus ex alvo matris natura profudit,
 Vagituque locum lugubri complet, ut æquum est
 Cui tantùm in vita restet transire malorum :
 At variæ crescunt pecudes, armenta, feræque,
 Nec crepitacula eis opus est, nec cuiquam adhibenda est
 Almæ nutricis blanda atque infracta loquela :
 Nec varias quærent vestes pro tempore calî :
 Denique non armis opus est, non manibus altis
 Quæ sua tutentur, quando omnibus omnia large
 Tellus ipsa parit, naturaque dadala rerum.*

—LUCR. v. 222.

An infant, like a shipwracke ship-boy cast from
 seas,
 Lies naked on the ground and speechlesse, want-
 ing all
 The helpes of vitall spirit, when nature with small
 ease
 Of throw's, to see first light, from her wombe lets
 him fall,
 Then, as is meet, with mourn'full cries he fills the
 place,
 For whom so many ils remaine in his lives race.
 But divers herds of tame and wild beasts foreward
 spring,

Nor need they rattles, nor of Nurces cockring-kind
The flattering broken speech their lullaby need
sing. of Nature
towards
man

Nor seeke they divers coats, as divers seasons bind.
Lastly no armour need they, nor high-reared wall
Whereby to guard their owne, since all things
unto all

Worke-masters nature doth produce,
And the earth largely to their use.

Such complaints are false : There is a greater equality, and more uniforme relation in the policy of the world. Our skin is as sufficiently provided with hardnesse against the injuries of the wether, as theirs : Witnesse divers Nations, which yet never knew the use of clothes. Our ancient Gaules were but slightly apparelled, no more are the Irish-men, our neighbours, in so cold a climate : Which we may better judge by our selves ; for, all those parts of our bodie, we are pleased to leave bare to winde and wether, are by experience found able to endure it : If there be any weake part in us, which in likely-hood should seeme to feare cold, it ought to be the stomacke, where digestion is made : Our forefathers used to have it bare, and our Ladies (as daintynice as they be) are many times seene to goe open-breasted, as low as their navill. The bangles and swathes about our children are no more necessary : And the mothers of *Lacedemonia*, brought up theirs in all liberty and loosenesse of moving their limbe without swathing or binding. Our whining, our puling and our weeping is common to most creatures, and divers of them are often seene to waile and grone a

Man in a state of nature long time after their birth, forsomuch as it is a countenance fitting the weaknesse wherein they feele themselves. As for the use of eating, and feeding, it is in us, as in them, naturall and without teaching.

Sentit enim vim quisque suam quam possit abuti.

—*Ibid.* 1043.

For every one soone-understanding is
Of his owne strength, which he may use amisse.

Who will make question, that a child having attained the strength to feed himselfe, could not quest for his meat, and shift for his drinke? The earth without labour or tilling doth sufficiently produce and offer him as much as he shall need. And if not at all times, no more doth she unto beasts; wnesse the provision, wee see the Ants and other silly creatures to make against the cold and barren seasons of the yeare. The nations, that have lately bin discovered, so plenteously stored with all manner of naturall meat and drinke, without care or labor, teach us, that bread is not our onely food: And that without toyling, our common mother nature, hath with great plentie stored us with whatsoever should be needfull for us, yea, as it is most likely, more richly and amply, than now adaies she doth, that we have added so much art unto it:

*Et tellus nitidas fruges vinetaque lata
Sponte sua primum mortalibus ipsa creavit,
Ipsa dedit dulces fetus, et pabula leta,
Quæ nunc vix nostro grandescunt aucta labore,
Conterimusque boves et vires agricolarum.*—*Luca.* li. 1166.

The earth it selfe at first of th' owne accord
 Did men rich Vineyards, and cleane fruit afford.
 It gave sweet of-springs food from sweeter soyle
 Which yet scarce greater grow for all our toyle,
 Yet tire therein we doe,
 Both Plough-mens strength and Oxen too.

Some ad-
 vantages
 of man
 over
 animals

The gluttonous excesse, and intemperate lav-
 ishnesse of our appetite exceeding all the inven-
 tions, we endeavour to finde out, wherewith to
 glut and cloy the same. As for armes and
 weapons, we have more, that be naturall unto
 us, than the greatest part of other beasts: We
 have more severall motions of limbs, and natu-
 rally, without teaching: We reape more ser-
 viceable use of them, than they do: Those which
 are trained up to fight naked, are seene head long
 to cast themselves into the same hazards and
 dangers, as we doe. If some beasts excell us
 in this advantage, we exceed many others: And
 the industrie to enable, the skill to fortifie, and
 the wit to shelter and cover our body by arti-
 ficiall meanes, we have it by a kind of naturall
 instinct and teaching. Which to prove; the
 Elephant doth whet and sharpen his teeth, he
 useth in warre (for he hath some he onely useth
 for that purpose) which he heedfully spareth,
 and never puts them to other service: When
 Buls prepare themselves to fight, they raise,
 scatter, and with their feet, cast the dust about
 them: The wild Boare whets his tuskes; when
 the *Ichnemou* is to grapple with the Crocodile,
 he walloweth his body in the mire, then lets the
 same drie and harden upon him, which he doth

The language of animals

so often, that at last the same becomes as hard and tough as any well compact crust, which serveth him in stead of a Cuirace. Why shall we not say, that it is as naturall for us to arme our selves with wood and yron? As for speech, sure it is, that if it be not naturall it is not necessary. I beleeeve neverthesse, that if a childe, bred in some uncouth solitarinesse, farre from haunt of people (though it were a hard matter to make triall of it) would no doubt have some kind of words to expresse, and speech to utter his conceits: And it is not to be imagined, that nature hath refused us that meane, and barred us that helpe, which she hath bestowed upon many and divers other creatures: For, what is that faculty we see in them, when they seeme to complaine, to rejoyce, to call one unto another for helpe, and bid one another to loving copulation (as commonly they doe) by the use of their voice, but a kind of speech? And shall not they speake among themselves, that speake and utter their minde unto us, and we to them? How many waies speake we unto our Dogges, and they seeme to understand and answer us? With another language, and with other names speake we unto, and call them, than we doe our Birds, our Hogges, our Oxen, our Horses, and such like; and according to their different kindes we change our Idiome.

*Così per entro loro schiera bruna
S' ammassa l'una con l'altra formica,
Forse à spiar lor via, et lor fortuna.*

So Ants amidst their sable-coloured band
 One with another mouth to mouth confer,
 Haply their way, or state to understand.

Difference of
 tongue

Me seemeth that *Lactantius* doth not onely
 attribute speech unto beasts, but also laughing.
 And the same difference of tongues, which
 according to the diversity of Countries is found
 amongst us, is also found amongst beasts of one
 same kinde. *Aristotle* to that purpose alleageth
 the divers calles or purres of Partridges, accord-
 ing to the situation of their place of breeding :

—*variaeque volucres*

*Longe alias alio jaciunt in tempore voces,
 Et partim mutant cum tempestatibus unā
 Raucisonos cantus.*—*Luca.* v. 1088.

And divers birds, send forth much divers sounds
 At divers times, and partly change the grounds
 Of their hoarse-sounding song,
 As seasons change along.

But it would be knowen, what language such
 a child should speake: and what some report
 by divination, hath no great likely-hood. And
 if against this opinion, a man would alleage unto
 me, that such as are naturally deafe, speake not
 at all: I answer, that it is not onely because
 they could not receive the instruction of the
 world by their eares, but rather in asmuch as
 the sense of hearing, whereof they are deprived,
 hath some affinity with that of speaking, both
 which with a naturall kinde of ligament or
 seame, hold and are fastned together: In such
 sort, as what we speake, we must first speake
 it unto our selves, and before we utter and send
 the same forth to strangers, we make it inwardly

We are to sound unto our eares. I have said all this, to
 all subject maintaine the coherency and resemblance, that is
 to like in all humane things, and to bring us unto the
 bonds generall throng. We are neither above nor
 under the rest: what ever is under the coape
 of heaven (saith the wise man) runneth one law,
 and followeth one fortune.

Indupedita suis fatalibus omnia vinculis.—Ibid. 885.

All things enfolded are,
 In fatall bonds as fits their share.

Some difference there is, there are orders and
 degrees; but all is under the visage of one-same
 nature.

*—res quæque suo ritu procedit, et omnes
 Fadere natura certo discrimina servant.—Ibid. 932.*

All things proceed in their course, natures all
 Keepe difference, as in their league doth fall.

Man must be forced, and marshalled within
 the lists of this policie. Miserable man with
 all his wit cannot in effect goe beyond it: he
 is embraced, and engaged, and as other creatures
 of his ranke are, he is subjected in like bondes,
 and without any prerogative or essentiall pre-
 excellencie, what ever Privilege he assume unto
 himselfe, he is of very meane condition. That
 which is given by opinion or fantasie hath neither
 body nor taste. And if it be so, that he alone,
 above all other Creatures, hath this liberty of
 imagination, and this licence of thoughts, which
 represent unto him, both what is, and what is

not and what him pleaseth, falsehood and truth ; A service
 it is an advantage bought at a very high rate, which is
 and whereof he hath litle reason to glorie : For freedom
 thence springs the chieftest source of all the
 mischiefs that oppresse him, as sinne, sicknesse,
 irresolution, trouble and despaire. But to come
 to my purpose, I say therefore, there is no
 likelihood, we should imagine, the beasts doe
 the very same things by a naturall inclination
 and forced genuitie, which we doe of our owne
 freewil and industrie. Of the very same effects
 we must conclude alike faculties ; and by the
 richest effects infer the noblest faculties, and
 consequently acknowledge, that the same dis-
 course and way, we hold in working, the very
 same, or perhaps some other better, doe beasts
 hold. Wherefore shall we imagine that naturall
 compulsion in them, that prove no such effect
 our selves ? Since it is more honourable to be
 addressed to act, and tyed to worke orderly, by
 and through a naturall and unavoideable con-
 dition, and most approching to Divinitie, than
 regularly to worke and act, by, and through a
 easuall and rash libertie ; and it is safer to leave
 the reignes of our conduct unto nature, than
 unto ourselves. The vanitie of our presumption
 maketh us rather to be beholding, and as it were
 endebted unto our owne strength, for our suffi-
 ciency, than unto her liberalitie ; and enrich
 other creatures with naturall gifts, and yeeld
 those unto them, that so we may ennoble and
 honour our selves with gifts purchased, as me
 thinketh, by a very simple humour : For, I

The reasoning of the Thracian fox would prize graces, and value gifts, that were altogether mine owne, and naturall unto me, as much as I would those, I had begged, and with a long prentiship, shifted for. *It lyeth not in our power to obtaine a greater commendation, than to be favoured both of God and Nature.* By that reason, the Fox, which the inhabitants of *Thrace* use when they will attempt to march upon the yce of some frozen river, and to that end let her go loose afore them, should we see her running alongst the river side, approach her eare close to the yce, to listen whether by any farre or neere distance, she may heare the noyse or roaring of the water, running under the same, and according as she perceiveth the yce thereby to be thicke or thinne, to goe either forward or backward; might not we lawfully judge, that the same discourse possesseth her head, as in like case it would ours? And that it is a kinde of debating reason and consequence, drawn from naturall sense? *Whatsoever maketh a noyse moveth, whatsoever moveth, is not frozen, whatsoever is not frozen, is liquid; whatsoever is liquid, yeelds under any weight?* For to impute that only to a quicknesse of the sense of hearing, without discourse or consequence, is but a fond concept, and cannot enter into my imagination. The like must be judged of so many wiles, and inventions, wherewith beasts save themselves from the snares, and scape the baits we lay to entrap them. And if we will take hold of any advantage tending to that purpose, that it is in our power to seize upon them, to employ them to our service, and to use

them at our pleasure; it is but the same oddes we have one upon another. To which purpose we have our slaves or bond-men; and were not the Climacides, certaine women in Syria, which creeping on al foure, upon the ground, served the Ladies in steed of footstoles or ladders to get up into their coachs? Where the greater part of free men for very slight causes, abandon both their life and being, to the power of others. The wives and Concubines of the Thracians strive and contend, which of them shalbe chosen, to bee slaine over her husbands or lovers tombe. Have tyrants ever failed to find many men vowed to their devotion? Where some for an over-plus, or supererogation have added this necessity, that they must necessarily accompany them, as well in death, as in life. Whole hostes of men have thus tyed themselves unto their Captaines. The tenor of the oath ministred unto the schollers, that entered and were admitted the rude schoole of Roman Gladiators, emplied these promises: which was this. We vow and sweare, to suffer our selves, to be enchained, beaten, burned and killed with the sword, and endure whatsoever any lawfull fenser ought to endure for his master: most religiously engaging both our bodie and soule to the use of his service:

Roman
Gladiators

*Ure meum si vis flamma caput, et pete ferro
Corpus, et intorto verberare terga seca.*

—TIBUL. I. EL. ix. 21

Burne tyrant (if thou wilt) my head with fire, with
sword
My body strike, my backe cut with hard-twisted cord.

We are
the ser-
vants
of our
beasts

Was not this a very strict covenant? Yet were there some yeares ten thousand found, that entered and lost themselves in those schooles. When the Scithians buried their King, they strangled over his dead body first, the chiefest and best beloved of his Concubines, then his Cup-bearer, the Master of his horse, his Chamberlaine, the Usher of his Chamber, and his master Cooke. And in his anniversary killed fiftie horse, mounted with fifty Pages, whom before, they had slaine with thrusting sharpe stakes into their fundament, which going up along their chine-bone, came out at their throat. Whom thus mounted; they set in orderly ranks about the tombe. The men that serve us, doe it better cheape, and for a lesse curious, and favourable entreating, than we use unto birds, unto horses, and unto dogges. What carke and toile, apply we not our selves unto for their sakes? Me thinks, the vilest and basest servants will never doe that so willingly for their Masters, which Princes are glad to doe for their beasts. *Diogenes* seeing his kinsfolks to take care how they might redeeme him out of thraldome; they are fooles (said he) for, it is my Master, that governeth, keepeth feedeth and serveth mee: And such as keepe or entertaine beasts, may rather say they serve them, than that they are served of them. And if they have that naturall greater magnanimity, that never Lyon was seene to subject himselfe unto another Lyon, nor one Horse unto another Horse, for want of heart. As wee hunt after

beasts, so Tygers and Lyons hunt after men, and have a like exercise one upon another: Hounds over the Hare; the Pike or Luce over the Tench; the Swallowes over the Grasse-hoppers, and the Sparrow-hawkes over Blackebirds and Larkes.

Men and
animals
alike
hunters

—*serpente ciconia pullos
Nutrit, et inventa per devia rura lacerta,
Et leporem aut capream famula Jovis, et generosa
In saltu venantur aves.*—*JUV. Sat. xiv. 74*

The storke her young-ones feeds with serpents
prey,
And lyzerts found somewhere out of the way.
Joves servants-Eagles, hawkes of nobler kinde,
In forrests hunt, a hare or kid to finde.

We share the fruits of our prey with our
dogges and hawkes, as a meed of their paine
and reward of their industry. As about *Am-
phipolis* in *Thrace*, faulkners, and wilde hawks
divide their game equally: And as about the
Meotide-fennes, if fishers doe not very honestly
leave behind them an even share of their fishings
for the Woolves that range about those coasts,
they presently run and teare their nets. And,
as we have a kinde of fishing, rather managed
by sleight, than strength, as that of hooke and
line about our Angling-rods, so have beasts
amongst themselves. *Aristotle* reporteth, that
the Cuttle-Fish, casteth a long gut out of her
throat, which like a line she sendeth forth, and
at her pleasure pulleth it in againe, according
as she perceiveth some little fish come neere
her, who being close-hidden in the gravell or

Art of stronde; letteth him nibble or bite the end of it,
 healing and then by little and little drawes it in unto
 not con- her, untill the Rish be so neere, that with a
 sidered to sodaine leape she may catch it. Touching
 man strength, there is no Creature in the world,
 open to so many wrongs and injuries as man :
 He need not a Whale, an Elephant, nor a Cro-
 codile, nor any such other wilde beast, of which
 one alone is of power to defeat a great number
 of men : seely lice are able to make *Silla* give
 over his Dictatorship : The heart and life of
 a mighty and triumphant Emperour, is but the
 break-fast of a seely little Worme. Why say
 we, that skill to discern, and knowledge to
 make choyce (gotten by art, and acquired by
 discourse) of things good for this life, and avail-
 full against sicknesse, and so distinguish of those
 which are hurtfull, and to know the vertue of
 Reubarb, qualitie of Oake ferne, and operation
 of Polipodie, is only peculiar unto man? When
 we see the Goats of *Candia* being shot with an
 arrow, to choose from out a million of simples,
 the herb Dittamy or Garden-ginger, and there-
 with cure themselves; and the Tortoise having
 eaten of a Viper, immediatly to seek for Ori-
 gon or wild Marjoram, to purge herselfe : the
 Dragon to run and cleare his eies with fenel :
 the Cranes with their bills to minister glisters of
 sea-water unto themselves; the Elephants to pull
 out, not only from themselves and their fellowes,
 but also from their masters (witness that of King
Porus, whom *Alexander* defeated) such javelins
 or darts, as in fight have beene thirled or shot at

them; so nimble and so cunningly, as our selves Reason could never do it so easily, and with so little in dogs paine: Why say wee not likewise that that is science, and prudence in them? For, if to de-
 presse them, some would alleadge, it is by the onely instruction and instinct of Nature, they know-it; that will not take the name of science, and title of prudence from them; it is rather to ascribe it unto them, than to us, for the honour of so assured a schoole-mistres. *Chrysippus*, albeit in other things as disdainfull a judge of the condition of beasts, as any other Philosopher, considering the earnest movings of the dog, who comming into a path, that led three severall wayes, in search or quest of his Master, whom he had lost, or in pursuit of some prey, that hath escaped him, goeth sending first one way, and then another, and having assured himself of two, because he findeth not the tracke of what he hunteth-for, without more adoe, furiously betakes himselfe to the third; he is enforced to confesse, that such a dog must necessarily discourse thus with himselfe, *I have followed my Masters footing hitherto, hee must of necessity passe by one of these three wayes; it is neither this nor that, then consequently hee is gone this other.* And by this conclusion or discourse assuring himselfe, comming to the third path, hee useth his sense no more, nor sounds it any longer, but by the power of reason suffers himselfe violently to be caried through it. This meere logicall trickes, and this use of divided and conjoynd propositions, and of the sufficient numbring of parts: Is it not as

Dogs good, that the dog know it by himselfe, as by
who are *Trapezuntius* his logicke? Yet are not beasts al-
leaders of together unapt to be instructed after our manner.
the blind We teach Blacke-birds, Starlings, Ravens, Piots,
 and Parots to chat; and that facilitie we perceive
 in them, to lend us their voyce so supple, and
 their wind so tractable, that so wee may frame
 and bring it to a certaine number of letters
 and silables, witnesseth, they have a kind of in-
 ward reason, which makes them so docile, and
 willing to learne. I thinke every man is cloied
 and wearied, with seeing so many apish and mim-
 mique trickes, that juglers teach their Dogges, as
 the dances, where they misse not one cadence
 of the sounds or notes they heare: Marke but
 the divers turnings, and severall kinds of motions,
 which by the commandement of their bare words
 they make them performe: But I wonder not a
 little at the effect, which is ordinary amongst
 us; and that is, the dogs which blind men use,
 both in Citie and Country: I have observed how
 sodainly they will stop when they come before
 some doores, where they are wont to receive
 almes; how carefully they will avoyd the shoocke
 of Carts and Coaches, even when they have
 roome enough to passe by them selves. I have
 seene some, going along a Towne-ditch, leave a
 plaine and even path, and take a worse, that so
 they might draw their Master from the ditch.
 How could a man make the dog conceive, his
 charge was only to looke to his masters safetie,
 and for his service to despise his owne com-
 moditie and good? And how should he have

the knowledge, that such a path would be broad enough for him, but not for a blind man? Can all this be conceived without reason? We must not forget what *Plutark*s affirmeth to have seene a dog in *Rome* doe before the Emperour *Vespasian* the father, in the Theatre of *Marcellus*. This Dog served a jugler, who was to play a fiction of many faces, and sundry countenances, where he also was to act a part. Amongst other things, he was for a long while to counterfeit and faine himselfe dead, because he had eaten of a certaine drugge: having swallowed a peece of bread, which was supposed to be the drug, he began sodainly to stagger and shake, as if he had beene giddie, then stretching and laying himselfe along, as stiffe as if hee were starke-dead, suffered himselfe to be dragged and haled from one place to another, according to the subject and plot of the play, and when he knew his time, first he began faire and softly to stirre, as if he were rouzed out of a dead slumber, then lifting up his head, hee looked and stared so gastly, that all the by-standers were amazed. The Oxen, which in the Kings gardens of *Susa* were taught to water them, and to draw water out of deepe Wells, turned certaine great wheelles, to which were fastned great buckets (as in many places of *Languedoke* is commonly seene) and being every one appoynted to draw just a hundred turnes a day, they were so accustomed to that number, as it was impossible by any compulsion to make them draw one more, which taske ended they would suddenly stop. We are growne striplings

Dogs on
the stage

Singing
lessons of
nightin-
gales

before we can tell a hundred; and many Nations have lately beene discovered, that never knew what numbers meant. More discourse is required to teach others, than to be taught. And omitting what *Democritus* judged and proved, which is, that beasts have instructed us in most of our Arts: As the Spider to weave and sew, the Swallow to build, the Swan, and the Nightingale musicke, and divers beasts, by imitating them, the Art of Physicke: *Aristotle* is of opinion, that Nightingales teach their young-ones to sing, wherein they employ both long time and much care: whence it followeth, that those which we keepe tame in Cages and have not had leasure to goe to their Parents schoole, lose much grace in their singing. Whereby we may conclude, they are much amended by discipline and study. And amongst those that run wilde, their song is not all one, nor alike. Each one hath learnt either better or worse, according to his capacity. And so jealous are they in their prentiseship, that to excell one another, they will so stoutly contend for the mastery, that many times, such as are vanquished die; their wind and strength soone failing than their voice. The young-ones will very sadly sit recording their lesson, and are often seene labouring how to imitate certain song-notes: The Scholler listneth attentively to his Masters Lesson, and carefully yeeldeth account of it; now one and then another shall hold his peace: Marke but how they endeavour to amend their faulks, and how the elder striveth to reprove the youngest. *Arrius* protesteth to

have scene an Elephant, who on every thigh having a Cimball hanging, and one fastned to his truncke, at the sound of which, all other Elephants danced in a round, now rising aloft, then lowting full low at certaine cadences, even as the instrument directed them, and was much delighted with the harmony. In the great shiewes of *Rome*, Elephants were ordinarily scene, taught to move and dance at the sound of a voice, certaine dances, wherein were many strange shifts, enterchanges, caprings, and cadences, very hard to be learned. Some have beene noted to konne and practise their lessons, using much study and care, as being loath to be chidden and beaten of their masters. But the tale of the Piot is very strange, which *Plutarke* confidently witnesseth to have scene: This Jay was in a Barbers shop of *Rome*, and was admirable in counterfeiting with her voice whatsoever she heard: It fortun'd one day, that certaine Trumpeters staid before this shop, and there sounded a good while; and being gone, all that day, and the next after, the Piot began to be very sad, silent, and melancholy, whereat all men marvelled, and surmized that the noise or clang of the Trumpets had thus affrighted and dizzied her, and that with her hearing she had also lost her voice. But at last they found, she was but in a deepe study, and dumpish retracting into her selfe, exercising her minde, and preparing her voice, to represent the sound, and expresse the noise of the Trumpets she had heard: And the first voice she uttered was that, wherein she perfectly

Elephant
dancers
and
Plutarke's
jay

The dog, the oil, and the pitcher expressed their straines, their closes, and their changes: having by her new Prentiship altogether quit, and as it were, scorned what ever shee could prattle before. I will not omit to alleage another example of a Dogge, which *Plutarke* also saith to have seene (as for any order or method, I know very well I doe but confound it, which I observe no more in ranging these examples, than I doe in all the rest of my businesse) who being in a ship, noted that this Dogge was in great perplexity how to get some Oyle out of a deepe Pitcher, which by reason of it's narrow mouth, he could not reach with his tongue, got him presently some Pibble stones, and put so many into the Jarre, that he made the Oyle come up so neare the brimme, as he could easily reach and licke some. And what is that but the effect of a very subtile spirit? It is reported, that the Ravens of *Barbary* will doe the like, when the water they would drinke is too low. This action doth somewhat resemble that, which *Juba* a King of that Nation relateth of their Elephants, that when through the wiles of those who chase them, any one chanceth to fall into certaine deep pits, which they prepare for them, and to deceive them, they cover over with reeds, shrubs, and boughes, his fellowes will speedily with all diligence bring great store of stones and pieces of timber, that so they may helpe to recover him out againe. But this beast hath in many other effects, such affinity with mans sufficiency, that would I particularly trace out what experience hath taught, I should easily

get an affirmation of what I so ordinarily maintaine, which is, that there is more difference found betweene such and such a man, than betweene such a beast and such a man. An Elephants keeper in a private house of *Syria*, was wont every meale to steale away halfe of the allowance which was allotted him; it fortuned on a day, his master would needs feed him himselfe, and having poured that just measure of barly, which for his allowance he had prescribed him, into his manger: the Elephant sternely eying his master, with his truncke divided the provender in two equall parts, and laid the one aside, by which he declared the wrong his keeper did him. Another having a keeper, who to encrease the measure of his provender, was wont to mingle stones with it, came one day to the pot which with meat in it for his keepers dinner was seething over the fire, and filled it up with ashes. These are but particular effects: But that which all the world hath seene, and all men know, which is, that in all the armies that came out of the East, their chieftest strength consisted in their Elephants by whom they reaped, without comparison, farre greater effects, than now adaies we do by our great Ordnance, which in a manner holds their place in a ranged battel (such as have any knowledge in ancient Histories may easily guesse it to be true)

Saga-
city of
elephants

—*si quidem Tyrus servire solebant
Annibali, et nostris ducibus, regique Molisso
Harum majores, et dorso ferre cohortes,
Partem aliquam belli, et euntem in praelia turmam.*
—Juv. Sat. xii. 107.

Ele- Their elders use great *Hannibal* to steed
 phants Our Leaders, and *Molossian* Kings at need,
 in war And on their backe to beare strong-guarding
 Knights,
 Part of the warre, and troupes addrest to fights.

A man must needs rest assured of the confidence they had in these beasts, and of their discourse, yeelding the front of a battel unto them; where the least stay they could have made, by reason of the hugenessse and weight of their bodies, and the least amazement that might have made them turne head upon their owne men, had bin sufficient to lose all. And few examples have been noted, that ever it fortuneed they turned upon their owne troupes, whereas we head-long throng one upon another, and so are put to rout: They had charge given them, not onely of one simple moving, but of many and severall parts in the combat: As the Spaniards did to their dogges in their new conquest of the *Indias*, to whom they gave wages, and imparted their booties; which beasts shewed as much dexteritie in pursuing, and judgement in staying their victorie, in charging, or retreating, and as occasion served in distinguishing their friends from their enemies, as they did earnestnesse and eagernes: we rather admire and consider strange than common things: without which I should never so long have amused my selfe about this tedious catalogue. For, in my judgement he that shall neerely checke, what we ordinarily see in those beasts that live amongst us, shall in them finde as wonderful effects, as

those, which with so much toile are collected in far countries and passed ages. It is one same nature, which stil doth keep her course. He that throughly should judge her present estate, might safely conclude, both what shall happen, and what is past. I have seene amongst us, men brought by sea from distant countries, whose language, because we could in no wise understand, and that their fashions, their countenance, and their clothes did altogether differ from ours; who of us did not deeme them brutish and savage? who did not impute their mutenesse unto stupiditie or beastlines, and to see them ignorant of the French tongue, of our kissing the hands, of our low-lowting courtesies, of our behaviour and carriage, by which, without contradiction, humane nature ought to take her patterne? Whatsoever seemeth strange unto us, and we understand not, we blame and condemne. The like befallerh us in our judging of beasts. They have diverse qualities, which somewhat simbolize with ours: from which, we may comparatively draw some conjecture, but of such as are peculiar unto them, what know wee what they are? Horses, Dogges, Oxen, Sheepe, Birds, and the greater number of sensitive creatures that live amongst us, know our voyce, and by it suffer themselves to be directed. So did the Lamprey which *Crassus* had, and came to him when he called it; so do the Eeles that breed in *Arcthusas* fountaine. And my selfe have seene some fish-ponds, where, at a certaine crie of those that kept them, the fish would pre-

We
blame
what we
do not
under-
stand

Religion sently come to shoare, where they were wont to
 of ani- be fed.
 mals

—*nomen habent, et ad magistri
 Vocem quisque sui venit citatus.*

—MART. IV. *Epig.* xxx. 6.

They have their proper names, and every one
 Comes at his masters voyce, as call'd upon.

By which we may judge, and conclude, that
 Elephants have some apprehension of religion,
 forsomuch as after diverse washings and purifi-
 cations, they are seene to lift up their truncke,
 as we doe our armes, and at certaine houres of
 the day, without any instruction, of their owne
 accord, holding their eyes fixed towards the
 Sunne-rising, fall into a long meditating contem-
 plation: yet, because wee see no such apparence
 in other beasts, may wee rightly conclude, that
 they are altogether void of religion, and may not
 take that in payment, which is hidden from us.
 As we perceive something in that action, which
 the Philosopher *Cleanthes* well observed, because
 it somewhat drawes neere unto ours. He saw
 (as himselfe reporteth) a company of Emmets
 goe from their nest, bearing amongst them the
 body of a dead Ant, toward another Emmets
 nest, from which many other Ants came, as it
 were to meet them by the way to parly with
 them, who after they had continued together
 awhile, they which came last, returned backe,
 to consult (as you may imagine) with their
 fellow-citizens, and because they could hardly
 come to any capitulation; they made two or

The
sticking
Remora

three voyages to and fro: In the end, the last come, brought unto the other a worrne from their habitation, as for a ransome of the dead, which worrne the first company tooke upon their backes, and carried it home, leaving the dead body unto the other. Loe here the interpretation that *Cleantes* gave it: Witnessing thereby, that those creatures which have no voice at all, have neverthelesse mutual commerce, and interchangeable communication, whereof if we be not partakers, it is onely our fault; and therefore doe we fondly to censure it. And they yet produce divers other effects, farre surpassing our capacity, and so farre out of the reach of our imitation, that even our thoughts are unable to conceive them. Many hold opinion, that in the last and famous sea-fight, which *Antonie* lost against *Augustus*, his Admirall-gally was in her course staid by that little fish, the Latines call *Remora*, and the English a Sucke-stone, whose property is, to stay any ship he can fasten himselfe unto. And the Emperour *Caligula*, sailing with a great fleet along the coast of *Romania*, his owne Gally was suddenly staid by such a fish, which he caused to be taken sticking fast to the keele, moodily raging, that so little a creature had the power to force both sea and winde, and the violence of all his oares, onely with her bill sticking to his Gally (for it is a kinde of shell-fish) and was much more amazed when he perceived the fish, being brought aboard his ship, to have no longer that powerfull vertue, which it had, being in the Sea. A certaine Citizen of *Cyzicum*, whilom

Change of colour purchased unto himselfe the reputation to be an excellent Mathematician, because he had learn't the quality of the Hedge-hogge, whose property is to build his hole or denne, open diverse waies, and toward severall winds, and fore-seeing rising stormes, he presently stoppeth the holes that way ; which thing the foresaid Citizen heedfully observing, would in the City foretell any future storme, and what wind should blow. The Cameleon taketh the colour of the place wherein he is. The fish called a Pourcontrell, or Manie-feet, changeth himselfe into what colour he lists, as occasion offereth it selfe ; that so he may hide himselfe from what he feareth, and catch what he seeketh for. In the Cameleon it is a change proceeding of passion, but in the Pourcontrell a change in action ; we our selves doe often change our colour, and alter our countenance, through sudden feare, choler, shame, and such like violent passions, which are wont to alter the hew of our faces : but it is by the effect of sufferance, as in the Cameleon. The jaundise hath power to make us yellow, but it is not in the disposition of our wils. The effects we perceive in other creatures, greater than ours, witnesse some more excellent faculty in them, which is concealed from us, as it is to be supposed, diverse others of their conditions and forces are, whereof no apparance or knowledge commeth to us. Of all former prædictions, the ancientest and most certaine were such as were drawn from the flight of birds : we have nothing equall unto it, nor so admirable. The rule of

fluttering, and order of shaking their wings, by which they conjecture the consequences of things to ensue, must necessarily be directed to so noble an operation by some excellent and supernaturall meane: For, it is a wresting of the letter, to attribute so wondrous effects, to any naturall decree, without the knowledge, consent, or discourse of him that causeth and produceth them, and is a most false opinion: Which to prove, the Torpedo or Cramp-fish hath the property to benumme and astonish, not onely the limbs of those that touch it, but also theirs, that with any long pole or fishing line touch any part thereof, shee doth transmit and convey a kinde of heaue numming into the hands of those that stirre or handle the same: Moreover, it is averred, that if any matter be cast upon them, the astonishment is sensibly felt to gaine upward untill it come to the hands, and even through the water it astonisheth the feeling-sence. Is not this a wonderfull power? Yet is it not altogether unprofitable for the Cramp-fish, she both knowes and makes use of it: for to catch prey she pursueth, she is seene to hide herselfe under the mud, that, other fishes swimming over her, stricken and benumbed with her exceeding coldnesse, may fall into her clauas. The Cranes, Swallowes, and other wandering birds, changing their abode, according to the seasons of the yeare, shew evidently the knowledge they have of their fore-divining faculty, and often put the same in use. Hunters assure us, that to chuse the best dog, and which they purpose to

The tor-
pedo fish

Unity of life between beasts and us keepe from out a litter of other young whelps, there is no better meane than the damme herselfe: for, if they be removed from out their kennell, him that she first brings thither againe, shall alwaies prove the best; or if one but encompassse her kennell with fire, looke which of her whelps she first seeketh to save, is undoubtedly the best: whereby it appeareth, they have a certaine use of Prognosticating, that we have not; or else some hidden vertue, to judge of their young ones, different and more lively than ours. The manner of all beasts breeding, engendering, nourishing, working, moving, living, and dying, being so neere to ours, what ever we abridge from their moving causes, and adde to our condition above theirs, can no way depart from our reasons discourse. For a regiment of our health, Physicians propose the example of beasts manner of life and proceeding unto us: for this common saying is alwaies in the peoples mouth:

*Tenez chauds les pieds et la teste,
Au demeurant vivez en beste.*

—JOUR. Err. Pop. pur. ii. pag. 140.

Keepe warme (t'is meete) thy head and feste:
In all the rest, live like a beast.

Generation is the chiefest naturall action: we have a certaine disposition of some members, fittest for that purpose; neverthesse, they bid us range our selves unto a brutish situation and disposition, as most effectuell:

—more ferarum,

*Quadrupedumque magis ritu, plerumque putantur
Concipere uxores: quia sic loca sumere possunt,
Pectoribus positis, sublati semina lumbis.*—LUCR. iv 1256.

And reject those indiscreet and insolent motions, which women have so luxuriously found out, as hurtfull: conforming them to the example and use of beasts of their sex, as more modest and considerate.

Friend-
ship of
dogs

*Nam mulier prohibet se concipere, atque repugnat,
Clunibus ipsa viri Veneram si leta retrahet,
Atque exorsato ciat omni pectore fluctus,
Ejicit enim sulci recta regione viasque
Vomerem, atque locis avertit seminis ictum.*

—*Ibid.* 1260.

If it be justice to give every one his due, beasts which serve, love, and defend their benefactors, pursue and outrage strangers, and such as offend them, by so doing they represent some shew of our justice, as also in reserving a high kinde of equality in dispensing of what they have to their young-ones. Touching friendship, without all comparison, they professe it more lively and shew it more constantly, than men. *Hircanus* a dog of *Lysimachus* the King, his master being dead, without eating or drinking would never come from off his bed, and when the dead corps was removed thence, he followed it, and lastly flung himselfe into the fire, where his master was burned. As did also the dogge of one called *Pyrrhus*, who after he was dead, would never budge from his masters couch, and when he was removed, suffered himselfe to be carried away with him, and at last flung himselfe into the fire wherein his master was consumed. There are certaine inclinations of affection, which without counsell of reason arise sometimes in us,

Superfluous luxury proceeding of a casual temerity, which some call *Sympathie*: beasts as well as men are capable of it. We see horses take a kinde of acquaintance one of another, so that often, traveling by the high-way, or feeding together, we have much ado to keep them asunder, wee see them bend and applie their affections to some of their fellowes colours, as if it were upon a certaine visage; and when they meet with any such, with signes of joy, and demonstration of good will, to joine and accost them, and to hate and shunne some other formes and colours. Beasts, as well as wee, have choice in their loves, and are very nice in chusing of their mates. They are not altogether void of our extreme and unappeasable jealousies. Lustfull desires are either naturall, and necessary, as eating and drinking; or else naturall and not necessary, as the acquaintance of males and females: or else neither necessary nor naturall: Of this last kinde are almost all mens: For, they are all superfluous and artificall. It is wonderfull to see with how little nature will be satisfied, and how little she hath left for us to be desired. The preparations in our kitchens, doe nothing at all concerne her lawes. The Stoikes say, that a man might very well sustaine himselfe with one Olive a day. The delicacy of our wines, is no part of her lesson, no more is the surcharge and relishing, which we adde unto our letcherous appetites.

—*neque illa*

Magno prognatum deposit consule cunnum.

—*Hon. Ser. l. Sat. ii. 30.*

These strange lustfull longings, which the
 ignorance of good, and a false opinion have
 possesst us with, are in number so infinite, that
 in a manner they expell all those which are
 naturall: even as if there were so many strangers
 in a City, that should either banish and expell
 all the naturall inhabitants thereof, or utterly
 suppress their ancient power and authority, and
 absolutely usurping the same, take possession of
 it. Brute beasts are much more regulare than
 we; and with more moderation containe them-
 selves within the compasse, which nature hath
 prescribed them: yet not so exactly, but that
 they have some coherency with our riotous
 licentiousnesse. And even as there have beene
 found certaine furious longings and unnaturall
 desires, which have provoked men unto the love
 of beasts, so have diverse times some of them
 beene drawne to love us, and are possessed with
 monstrous affections from one kind to another:
 witnesse the Elephant, that in the love of an
 herb-wife, in the city of *Alexandria*, was co-
 rivall with *Aristophanes*, the Grammarian; who
 in all offices pertayning to an earnest woer and
 passionate suiter, yeelded nothing unto him: For,
 walking thorow the Fruit-market, he would
 here and there snatch up some with his truncke,
 and carry them unto her: as neere as might be
 he would never loose the sight of her: and now
 and then over her band put his truncke into her
 bosome, and feele her breasts. They also report
 of a Dragon, that was exceedingly in love with
 a yong maiden; and of a Goose in the City of

Animals
 have
 passions
 like unto
 ours

The mule, the salt, and the wool *Asope*, which dearely loved a young childe : also of a Ram that belonged to the Musitian *Glausia*. Doe we not daily se Munkies ragingly in love with women, and furiously to pursue them? And certaine other beasts, given to love the males of their owne sex? *Oppianus* and others report some examples, to shew the reverence, and manifest the awe, some beasts in their marriages, beare unto their kindred : but experience makes us often see the contrary :

—*nec habetur turpe juvenca*

Ferre patrem tergo : fit equo sua filia coniux :

Quasque creavit, init pecudus caper : ipsaque cuius

Semine concepta est, ex illo concipit ales.

—OVID. *Metam.* x. 325.

To beare her Sire the Heifer shameth not :
The Horse takes his owne Fillies maiden-head :
The Goat gets them with young whom he begot :
Birds breed by them, by whom themselves were
bred.

Touching a subtil pranke and witty tricke, is there any so famous as that of *Thales* the Philosophers Mule, which, laden with salt, passing thorow a River chanced to stumble, so that the sacks she carried were all wet, and perceiving the salt (because the water had melted it) to grow lighter, ceased not, assoone as she came neere any water, together with her load to plunge herselfe therein, untill her master, being aware of her craft, commanded her to be laden with wooll, which being wet became heavier ; the Mule finding herselfe deceived, used her former policy no more. There are many of them, that lively represent the visage of

our avarice, who with a greedy kinde of desire **Wisdom**
 endeavour to surprise whatsoever comes within **of the ant**
 their reach, and though they reap no commodity,
 nor have any use of it, to hide the same very
 curiously. As for husbandry, they exceede us,
 not onely in fore-sight to spare, and gather to-
 gether for times to come, but have also many
 parts of the skill belonging there unto. As the
 Ants, when they perceive their corne to grow
 mustie, and graine to be sowre, for feare it
 should rot and putrifie, spread the same abroad
 before their neasts, that so it may aire and drie.
 But the caution they use in gnawing, and pre-
 vention they imploy in paring their graines of
 wheat, is beyond all imagination of mans wit:
 Because wheat doth not alwaies keepe drie nor
 wholesome, but moisten, melt and dissolve into
 a kinde of whey, namely, when it beginneth to
 bud, fearing it should turne to seed, and lose
 the nature of a storehouse, for their sustenance,
 they part and gnaw-off the end whereat it wons
 to bud. As for warre, which is the greatest
 and most glorious of all humane actions, I would
 faine know, if we will use it for an argument of
 some prerogative, or otherwise for a testimonie of
 our imbecilitie and imperfection, as in truth, the
 science we use to defeat and kill one another, to
 spoile and utterly to overthrow our owne kinde,
 it seemeth, it hath not much to make it selfe to
 be wished-for in beasts, that have it not.

—quando leoni

Fortior eripuit vitam leo, quo nemore unquam

Expiravit asper maioris dentibus apri?—JUVEN. Sat. xv. 160.

**Battles
of bees**

When hath a greater Lion damnifide
A Lions life? in what wood ever di'de,
A boare by tusks and gore,
Of any greater boare?

Yet are not they altogether exempted from it :
witness the furious encounters of Bees, and the
hostile enterprises of the Princes and Leaders of
the two contrary Armies.

—*sape duobus*

*Regibus incessit magno discordia motu,
Continuoque animos vulgi et tropidantis bello
Gorda licet longe præscurrere.*—VIRG. Georg. iv. 67.

Oft-times twixt two no great Kings great dissen-
tion

With much adoe doth set them at contention;
The vulgare mindes strait may you see from farre,
And hearts that tremble at the thought of warre.

I never marke this divine description, but
mee thinkes I read humane foolishnesse and
worldly vanitie painted in it. For, these mo-
tions of warre, which out of their horror and
astonishment breed this tempest of cries, and
clang of sounds in us :

*Fulgur ubi ad calum se tollit, totaque circum
Ære renilescit tellus, subterque virum vi
Excitur pedibus sonitus, clamoreque montes
Icti rejocant vocis ad sidera mundi.*—LUCR. ii. 326.

Where lightning raiseth it selfe to the skies,
The earth shines round with armour, soundes doe
rise

By mens force under feet, wounded with noyse
The hilles to heav'n reverberate their voyce.

This horror-causing aray of so many thou-

sands of armed men, so great furie, earnest Slight
 fervor, and undaunted courage, it would make causes of
 one laugh to see by how many vaine occasions war
 it is raised and set on fire, and by what light
 meanes it is againe suppressed and extinct.

—*Paridis propter narratur amorem
 Græcia Barbaria dire collisa duello.*

—HOR. i. *Epist.* ii. 6.

For *Paris* lustfull love (as Stories tell)
 All *Greece* to direfull warre with *Asia* fell.

The hatred of one man, a spight, a pleasure,
 a familiar suspect, or a jealousy; causes, which
 ought not to move two scolding fish-wives to
 scratch one another, is the soule and motive of
 all this hurly-burly. Shall we beleewe them
 that are the principall authors and causes ther-
 of? Let us but hearken unto the greatest and
 most victorious Emperour, and the mightiest
 that ever was, how pleasantly he laughs, and
 wittily he plaies, at so many battells and bloody
 fights, hazarded both by sea and land, at the
 blood and lives of five hundred thousand soules
 which followed his fortune, and the strength
 and riches of two parts of the world consumed
 and drawne drie for the service of his enterprise :

Quod fuit Glaphyram Antonius, hanc mihi penam

Fulvia constituit, se quoque uti futuam

Fulviam ego ut futuam? quid si me Manius oret

Pedecem, faciam? non puto, si sapiam.

Aut futue, aut pugnemus ait: quid si mihi vita

Charior est ipsa mentula? Signa canant.

—MART. xi. *Epig.* xxi.

(I use my Latine somewhat boldly, but it is

Weak- with that leave which you have given mee,) ness of This vast huge bodie hath so many faces and man severall motion, which seeme to threat both heaven and earth.

*Quam multi Lybico voluntur marmore fluctus
Sævus ubi Orion hybernus conditur undis :
Vel cum sole novo densa torrentur arista,
Aut Hermi campo, aut Lyciæ flaventibus arvis,
Scuta sonant, pulsque pedum tremit excita tellus.*

—VIRG. *Æn.* vii. 717.

As many waves, as rowle in Affricke marble-sounds,
When fiere *Orion* hides in Winter waves his head:
Or when thicke-eares of Corne are parch't by
Sunne new-spred.
In *Hermus* fruitfull fields, or *Lycæus* yellow grounds,
With noyse of shields and feet, the trembling earth
so sounds.

*This many-headed, divers-armed, and furiously-
raging-monster, is man; wretched weake and
miserable man: whom if you consider well, what
is he, but a crawling, and ever-moving Ants-
neast?*

It nigrum campis agmen.—VIRG. *Æn.* iv. 404.

The sable-coloured band,
Marches along the Land.

A gust of contrarie winds, the croking of
a flight of Ravens, the false pase of a Horse,
the casual flight of an Eagle, a dreame, a
sodaine voyce, a false signe, a mornings mist,
an evening fogge, are enough to overthrow,
sufficient to overwhelme and able to pull him
to the ground. Let the Sunne but shine hot

upon his face, hee faints and sweaters with heat: Cast but a little dust in his eyes, as to the Bees mentioned by our Poet, all our ensignes, all our legions, yea great Pompey himselfe in the forefront of them is overthrowne and put to rout (For as I remember it was he whom Sertorius vanquished in Spaine, with all those goodly armes.) This also served Emmenes against Antigonus, and Surena against Crassus :

Emperors
and
cobblers
made in
the same
mould

*Hi motus animorum, atque hæc certamina tanta,
Pulveris exigui jactu compressa quiescent.*

—VIRG. Georg. iv. 86.

These stomacke-motions, these contentions great,
[Calm'd] with a little dust, strait lose their heat.

Let us but uncouple some of our ordinarie flies, and let loose a few gnats amongst them, they shall have both the force to scatter, and courage to consume him. The Portugals not long since beleagring the City of Tamy, in the territory of Xiatine, the inhabitants thereof, brought great store of Hives, (whereof they have plentie) upon their walls: And with fire drove them so forcible upon their enemies, who as unable to abide their assaults, and endure their stings, left their enterprize. Thus by this new kinde of helpe was the liberty of the Towne gained, and victory purchased; with so happy success, that in their retreating, there was not one townes-man found wanting. *The soules of Emperours and Cobblers are all cast in one same mould.* Considering the importance of Princes actions, and their weight, wee perswade

No creature so treacherous as man our selves, they are brought forth by some as weighty and important causes; wee are deceived: They are moved, stirred and removed in their motions, by the same springs and wards, that wee are in ours. The same reason that makes us chide and braule, and fall out with any of our neighbours, causeth a warre to follow betweene Princes; The same reason that makes us whip or beat a lackey, maketh a Prince (if hee apprehend it) to spoyle and waste a whole Province. *They have as easie a will as we, but they can doe much more.* Alike desires perturb both a skinne-worme, and an Elephant. *Touching trust and faithfulness there is no creature in the world so trecherous as man.* Our histories report the earnest pursuit and sharpe chase, that some Dogges have made for the death of their masters. King *Pirrbus* finding a Dog, that watched a dead man, and understanding he had done so three daies and nights together, commanded the corps to be enterred, and tooke the Dog along with him. It fortun'd one day (as *Pirrbus* was survaying the General Musters of his Army) the Dog perceiving in that multitude, the man who had murdered his maister, loud-barking, and with great rage ran furiously upon him; by which signes he furthered and procured his masters revenge, which by way of justice, was shortly executed. Even so did the Dogge belonging to *Hesiodus*, surnamed the wise, having convicted the children of *Ganister* of *Naupactus*, of the murther committed on his Masters person.

Another Dogge being appointed to watch a **Faithful-**
 Temple in *Athens*, having perceived a sacrilegious theefe, to carrie away the fairest jewels **ness of**
 therein, barked at him so long as he was able, **dogs**
 and seeing he could not awaken the Sextons or
 Temple-keepers, followed the theefe, whither-
 so-ever he went; daie-light being come, he
 kept himselfe a loof-off, but never lost the sight
 of him: if he offered him meat, he utterly
 refused it; but if any passenger chanced to
 come by, on them he fawned, with wagging his
 taile, and tooke what-ever they offered him; If
 the theefe staid to rest himselfe, he also stayed
 in the same place: The newes of this Dogge
 being come to the Temple-keepers, they as they
 went along, enquiring of the Dogs haire and
 colour, pursued his tracke so long, that at last
 they found both the Dog and the theefe in the
 Citie of *Cromyon*, whom they brought backe to
Athens, where for his offence he was severely
 punished. And the judges in acknowledgement
 of the Dogges good office, at the Cities charge
 appointed him for his sustenance a certaine daily
 measure of Corne, and enjoyned the Priests of
 the Temple, carefully to looke unto him. *Plu-*
tarke affirmeth this storie to be most true, and
 to have hapned in his time. Touching gratitude
 and thankfulnessse, (for me thinks we have need
 to further this word greatly) this onely example
 shall suffice, of which *Appion* reporteth to have
 been a spectator himselfe. One day (saith he)
 that the Senate of *Rome*, (to please and recreate
 the common people) caused a great number of

The story of Androdes wilde beasts to be baited, namely huge great Lions, it so fortun'd, that there was one amongst the rest, who by reason of his furious and stately carriage, of his unmatched strength, of his great limbs, and of his loud, and terror-causing roaring, drew all by-standers eyes to gaze upon him. Amongst other slaves, that in sight of all the people were presented to encounter with these beasts, there chanced to be one *Androdes of Dacia*, who belonged unto a Roman Lord, who had been Consull. This huge Lion, having eyed him afar off, first made a suddaine stop, as stricken into a kind of admiration, then with a milde and gentle contenance, as if he would willingly have taken acquaintance of him, faire and softly approached unto him: Which done, and resting assured he was the man he tooke him for, begun fawningly to wagge his taile, as dogges doe that fawne upon their new-found masters, and licke the poore and miserable slaves hands and thighes, who through feare was almost out of his wits and halfe dead. *Androdes* at last taking hart of grace; and by reason of the Lions mildnesse having rouzed up his spirits, and wishly fixing his eies upon him, to see whether he could call him to remembrance; it was to all beholders a singular pleasure to observe the love, the joy, and blandishments, each endeavored to enter-shew one another. Whereat the people raising a loud crie, and by their shouting and clapping of hands seeming to be much pleased; the Emperour willed the slave to be brought before

him, as desirous to understand of him the cause and the of so strange and seeld-seene an accident.: Hon
Who related this new, and wonderfull storie unto him.

My Master (said he) being Proconsull in *Affrica*, forsomuch as he caused me every day to be most cruelly beaten, and held me in so rigorous bondage, I was constrained, as being wearie of my life, to run away: And safely to scape from so eminent a person, and who had so great authoritie in the Countrie, I thought it best to get me into the desert, and most unfrequented wildernesses of that region, with a full resolution, if I could not compasse the meanes to sustaine my selfe, to finde one way or other, with violence to make my selfe away. One day, the Sunne about noone-tide being extreemly hote, and the seorching heat thereof intolerable, I fortaned to come unto a wilde-unhanted cave, hidden amongst crags, and almost inaccessible, and where I imagined no footing had ever been; therein I hid my selfe: I had not long been there, but in comes this Lion, with one of his pawes sore hurt, and bloody-goared, wailing for the smart, and groaning for the paine he felt; at whose arrivall, I was much dismaied, but he seeing me lie close-cowring in a corner of his den, gently made his approaches unto me, holding forth his goared paw toward me, and seemed with shewing the same humbly to sue, and suppliantly to beg for help at my hands. I, moved with ruth, taking it into my hand,

Androdus pulled out a great splint, which was gotten into
set at it, and shaking-off all feare, first I wrung and
liberty crusht his sore, and caused the filth and matter,
 which therein was gathered, to come forth;
 than, as gently as for my heart I could, I
 cleansed, wiped, and dried the same. He feel-
 ing some ease in his griefe, and his paine to
 cease, still holding his foot betweene my hands,
 began to sleep and take some rest. Thence
 forward he and I lived together, the full space
 of three yeares in his den, with such meat as
 he shifted-for: For, what beasts he killed, or
 what prey soever he tooke, he ever brought
 home the better part, and shared it with me,
 which for want of fire, I rosted in the Sunne,
 and therewith nourished my selfe all that while.
 But at last wearied with this kinde of brutish
 life, the Lion being one day gone to purchase
 his wonted prey, I left the place, hoping to
 mend my fortunes, and having wandred up and
 downe three dayes, I was at last taken by
 certaine Souldiers, which from *Africa* brought
 me into this Citie to my Master againe, who
 immediatly condemned me to death, and to be
 devoured by wilde beasts. And as I now
 perceiue, the same Lion was also shortly after
 taken, who as you see hath now requited me
 of the good turne I did him, and the health
 which by my meanes he recovered. Behold
 here the historie, *Androdus* reported unto the
 Emperour, which after he caused to be declared
 unto all the people, at whose generall request,
 he was forthwith set at libertie, and quit of his

punishment, and by the common consent of all, had the Lion bestowed upon him. *Appion* saith further, that *Androdus* was daily seen to lead the Lion up and downe the streets of *Rome*, tied onely with a little twine, and walking from taverne to taverne, received such money as was given him, who would gently suffer himselfe to be handled, touched, decked, and strowed with flowers, all over and over, many saying when they met him : yonder is the Lion that is the mans hoste and yonder is the man that is the Lions Physitian. We often mourne and weepe for the losse of those beasts we love, so doe they many times for the losse of us.

Mutual
help
amongst
animals

Post bellator equus positus insignibus Æthon
It lacrimans, guttisq; humectat grandibus ora.

—VIRG. *Æn.* xi. 89.

Next *Æthon* horse of warre, all ornaments laid downe,

Goes weeping, with great drops bedewe's his cheekes adowne.

As some of our nations have wives in common, and some in severall, each man keeping himselfe to his owne ; so have some beasts ; [yea] some there are, that observe their marriages, with as great respect as we doe ours. Touching the mutuall societie, and reciprocall confederation, which they devise amongst themselves, that so they may be fast combined together, and in times of need help one another, it is apparant, that if Oxen, Hogs, and other beasts being hurt by us, chance to crie, all the heard runnes to aid him, and in his defence will joine all together. The

The whale and its companion fish, called of the Latines *Starus*, having swallowed the fishers hooke, his fellowes will presently flocke about him, and nibble the line in sunder; and if any of them happen to be taken in a bow-net, some of his fellowes turning his head away, will put his taile in at the neck of the net, who with his teeth fast-holding the same, never leave him, untill they have pulled him out. The Barble fishes, if one of them chance to be engaged, will set the line against their backes, and with a fin they have, toothed like a sharp saw, presently saw and fret the same asunder. Concerning particular offices, which we for the benefit of our life, draw one from an other, many like examples are found amongst them. It is assuredly beleevved, that the Whale never swimmeth, unlesse she have a little fish going before her, as her vantgard, it is in shape like a Gudgeon, and both the Latines and we, call it the Whales-guide; for, she doth ever follow him, suffering her selfe, as easily to be led and turned by him, as a ship is directed and turned by a sterne: for requitall of which good turne, whereas all things else, be it beast, fish, or vessell, that comes within the horrible *Chaos* of this monstrous mouth, is presently lost and devoured; this little fish doth safely retire himselfe therein, and there sleepest verie quietly, and as long as he sleepest, the Whale never stirs; but assoone as he awaketh and goeth his way, where-ever he takes his course she alwaies followeth him, and if she fortune to lose him, she wanders here and there, and often striketh upon the rocks,

as a ship that hath nor mast nor rudder. This, *Plutarke* witnesseth to have seen in the Iland of *Antycira*. There is such a like societie betweene the little bird called a Wren, and the Crocodile: For, the Wren serveth as a sentinell to so great a monster: And if the Ichnemumon, which is his mortall enemy approach to fight with him, the little birdlet, lest he might surprise him whilst he sleepeth, with his singing, and pecking him with his bill, awakens him, and gives him warning of the danger he is in. The bird liveth by the scraps, and feedeth upon the leavings of that monster, who gently receiveth him into his mouth, and suffers him to pecke his jawes and teeth for such mamockes of flesh as sticke betweene them: and if he purpose to close his mouth, he doth first warne him to be gone, faire and easie closing it by little and little, without any whit crushing or hurting him. The shellfish called a Nacre, liveth even so with the Pinnotere, which is a little creature like unto a Crabfish, and as his porter or usher waits upon him, attending the opening of the Nacre, which he continually keepe gaping, untill he see some little fish enter in, fit for their turne, then he creepes into the Nacre, and leaves not pinching his quicke flesh, untill he makes him close his shell, and so they both together fast in their hold, devour their prey. In the manner of the Tunnies life, may be discovered a singular knowledge of the three parts of the Mathematickes. First for Astrologie, it may well be said that man doth learne it of them: For, whereso-

The
crocodile
and the
birdlet

The
mathe-
matical
tunny

ever the winter Solstitium doth take them, there do they stay themselves, and never stir till the next *Æquinocetium*, and that is the reason why *Aristotle* doth so willingly ascribe that art unto them: Then for Geometrie and Arithmetike, they alwaies frame their shole of a Cubike figure, every way square: and so forme a solide, close and wel-ranged battailon, encompassed round about of six equall sides. Thus orderly marshaled, they take their course and swim whither their journey tends, as broad and wide behind as before: So that he that seeth and telleth but one ranke, may easily number all the troope, forso-much as the number of the depth is equall unto the bredth, and the bredth unto the length. Touching magnanimitie and haughtie courage, it is hard to set it forth more lively, and to produce a rarer patterne, than that of the Dog, which from *India* was sent unto *Alexander*: to whom was first presented a Stag, then a wilde Boare, and then a Beare, with each of which he should have foughten, but he seemed to make no accompt of them, and would not so much as remove out of his place for them, but when he saw a Lion, he presently rouzed himselfe, shewing evidently he meant onely so noble a beast worthie to enter combat with him. Concerning repentance and acknowledging of faults committed, it is reported, that an Elephant having through rage of choler slaine his governour, conceived such an extreme inward grieve, that he would never afterward touch any food, and suffered himself to pine to death. Touching

clemencie, it is reported of a Tiger, (the fiercest **Halcyon** and most inhumane beast of all) who having **days** a Kid given her to feed upon, endured the force of gnawing hunger, two daies together, rather than she would hurt him; the third day with maine strength she brake the cage, wherein she was kept-pent, and went elsewhere to shift for feeding; as one unwilling to seize upon the seelie Kid her familiar and guest. And concerning privileges of familiaritie and sympathie caused by conversation, is it not oft seen, how some make Cats, Dogs, and Hares so tame, so gentle, and so milde, that without harming one another they shall live and continue together? But that which experience teacheth sea-faring men, especially those that come into the seas of *Sicilie*, of the qualitie and condition of the *Halcyon* bird, or as some call it *Alcedo* or *Kings-fisher*, exceeds all mens conceit. In what kinde of creature did ever nature so much prefer both their hatching, sitting, brooding, and birth? Poets faine, that the Iland of *Delos*, being before wandring and fleeting up and downe, was for the delivery of *Latona* made firme and settled. But Gods decree hath been, that all the watrie wildernesses should be quiet and made calme, without raine, wind, or tempest, during the time the *Halcyon* sitteth and bringeth forth her young-ones, which is much about the *Winter Solstitium*, and shortest day in the yeare: By whose privilege even in the hart and deadeest time of Winter we have seven calme daies, and as many nights to saile without any danger.

The nest of the Halcyon Their Hens know no other Cocke but their owne : They never forsake him all the daies of their life ; and if the Cocke chance to be weake and crazed, the Hen will take him upon her neck, and carrie him with her, wheresoever she goeth, and serve him even untill death. Mans wit could never yet attaine to the full knowledge of that admirable kind of building or structure, which the *Halcyon* useth in contriving of her nest, no, nor devise what it is-of.

Plutarke, who hath seen and handled many of them, thinkes it to be made of certaine fish-bones, which she so compacts, and conjoyneth together, enterlacing some long, and some crosse-waies, adding some foldings and roundings to it, that in the end she frameth a round kind of vessel, readie to float and swim upon the water : which done, she carrieth the same where the Sea-waves beat most ; there the Sea gently beating upon it, shewes her how to daube and patch up the parts not well closed, and how to strengthen those places, and fashion those ribs, that are not fast, but stir with the Sea-waves : And on the other side, that which is closely wrought, the Sea beating on it, doth so fasten and conjoyne together, that nothing, no, not stone or yron, can any way loosen, divide, or break the same, except with great violence ; and what is most to be wondred at, is the proportion and figure of the concavities within ; for, it is so composed and proportioned, that it can receive or admit no manner of thing, but the Bird that built it ; for, to all things else, it is so impenetrable, close and hard, that nothing

can possible enter in : no, not so much as the Sea-water. Loe here a most plaine description of this building, or construction taken from a verie good Author : yet me thinks, it doth not fully and sufficiently resolve us of the difficultie in this kinde of Architecture. Now *from what vanitie can it proceed, we should so willfully contemne, and disdainfully interpret those effects, which we can neither imitate nor conceive?* But to follow this equalitie or correspondencie betweene us and beasts somewhat further ; the privilege whereof our soule vants to bring to her condition whatsoever it conceiveth, and to dispoile what of mortall and corporall qualities belongs unto it, to marshall those things, which she deemed worthie her acquaintance, to disrobe and deprive their corruptible conditions, and to make them leave as superfluous and base garments, thickenesse, length, depth, weight, colour, smell, roughnesse, smoothnesse, hardnesse, softnesse, and all sensible accidents else, to fit and appropriate them to her immortall and spirituall condition : so that *Rome* and *Paris*, which I have in my soule ; *Paris* which I imagine ; yea, I imagine and conceive the same without greatnesse and place, without stone and mortar, and without wood : Then say I unto my selfe, the same privilege seemeth likewise to be in beasts : for, a Horse accustomed to heare the sound of trumpets, the noyse of shot, and the clattering of armes, whom we see to snort, to startle, and to neigh in his sleep, as he lies along upon his litter, even as he were in the hurly-burly ; it is most certaine, that

**Why
disdain
what we
cannot
imitate ?**

Dreams in his minde he apprehends the sound of a Drum
of ani- without any noyse, and an armie without armes
mals or, bodie.

*Quippe videbis equos fortes, cum membra jacebunt
 In somnis, sudare tamen, spirareque sæpe,
 Et quasi de palma summas contendere vires.*

—LUCR. iv. 982.

You shall see warlike Horses, when in sleep
 Their limbs lie, yet sweat, and a snorting keep,
 And stretch their utmost strength,
 As for a goale at length.

That Hare, which a grey-hound imagineth
 in his dreame, after whom as he sleepeth we
 see him bay, quest, yelp, and snort, stretch out
 his taile, shake his legs, and perfectly represent
 the motions of his course; the same is a Hare
 without bones, without haire.

*Venantumque canes in molli sæpe quiescunt,
 Jactant crura tamen subito, vocesque repente
 Mittunt, et crebras reddunt naribus auras,
 Ut vestigia si teneant inventa ferarum:
 Expergefactive, sequuntur inania sepe
 Cervorum simulacra, fugæ quasi dedita cernant:
 Donec discussis redeant erroribus ad se.* —Ibid. 986.

Oft times the hunters dogs in easie rest
 Stir their legs, suddainly, open, and quest,
 And send from nostrils thicke-thicke snuffing sent,
 As if on traile they were of game full-bent:
 And wakened so, they follow shadowes vaine
 Of Deere in chase, as if they fled amaine:
 Till, their fault left, they turne to sense againe.

Those watching-Dogs, which in their sleep we
 sometimes see to grumble, and then barking to

startle suddainly out of their slumber, as if they perceived some stranger to arive: that stranger which their minde seemeth to see, is but an imaginarie man, and not perceived; without any dimension, colour, or being: Physical beauty

—*Consueti domi catulorum blanda propago
Degerere, saepe levem ex oculis volucrumque soporem
Discutere, et corpus de terra corripere instant,
Proinde quasi ignotas fasces atque ora tuantur.*

—*Ibid.* 993.

The fawning kinde of whelps, at home that liv's,
From eyes to shake light-swift sleepe often striv's,
And from the ground their starting bodies hie,
As if some unknowne stranger they did spie.

Touching corporall beautie, before I goe any further, it were necessarie I knew whether we are yet agreed about her description. It is very likely that we know not well, what beautie either in nature, or in generall is, since we give so many, and attribute so divers formes to humane beautie, yea, and to our beautie: Of which if there were any naturall or lively description, we should generally know it, as we doe the heat of fire. We imagine and faine her formes, as our fantasies lead us.

Turpis Romano Belgicus ore color.

—PROPER. ii. *El.* xviii. 26.

A Dutch-froes colour hath no grace,
Seen in a Romane Ladies face.

The Indians describe it blacke and swarthy,
with blabbered-thick lips, with a broad and flat nose, the inward gristle whereof they load with

Different
standards
of beauty

great gold-rings, hanging downe to their mouth, and their neather lips with great circlets beset with precious stones, which cover all their chins, deeming it an especiall grace to shew their teeth to the roots. In *Peru*, the greatest cares are ever esteemed the fairest, which with all art and industrie, they are continually stretching out; and a man (who yet liveth) sweareth to have seen in a Province of the East-Indias the people so careful to make them great, and so to load them with heavie jewels, that at ease he could have thrust his arme through one of their eare-holes. There are other Nations, who endeavour to make their teeth as blacke as Jeat, and skorne to have them white; and in other places they die them red. Not onely in the province of *Baskie*, but in other places, women are accounted fairest when their heads are shaven; and which is strange, in some of the Northerly frozen-countries, as *Plinie* affirmeth. Those of *Mexico*, esteeme the littlenesse of their foreheads, as one of the chieftest beauties, and whereas they shave their haire over all their bodie besides, by artificiall meanes they labour to nourish and make it grow onely in their foreheads; and so love to have great dugs, that they strive to have their children sucke over their shoulders. So would we set forth ilfavordnesse. The Italians proportion-it big and plum; The Spaniards spynie and lanke, and amongst us one would have her white, another browne, one soft and delicate, another strong and lustie: some desire wantonnesse and blithnesse, and othersome sturdinesse

and majestie to be joyned with it. Even as the preheminence in beautie, which *Plato* ascribeth unto the Sphericall figure, the Epicurians refer the same unto the Piramidall or Square; and say they cannot swallow a God made round like a bowle. But howsoever it is, nature hath no more privileged us in that, than in other things, concerning her common lawes. And if we impartially enter into judgement with our selves, we shall finde, that if there be any creature or beast lesse favoured in that than we, there are others (and that in great numbers) to whom nature hath been more favourable than to us. *A multis animalibus decore vincimur. We are excelled in comelinesse, by many living creatures:* Yea, of terrestriall creatures, that live with us. For, concerning those of the Sea, omitting their figure, which no proportion can containe, so much doth it differ, both in colour, in neatnesse, in smoothnesse, and in disposition, we must give place unto them: which in all qualities we must likewise doe to the ayrie ones. And that prerogative, which Poets yeeld unto our upright stature, looking towards heaven whence her beginning is,

*Pronaque cum spectent animalia cetera terram,
Os homini sublime dedit, cælumque videre
Jussit, et erectos ad sidera tollere vultus.*

—OVID. *Metam.* i. 84.

Where other creatures on earth looke and lie,
A loftie looke God gave man, bad him prie
On heav'n, rais'd his high count'nance to the skie.

is meere poëticall, for, there are many little

Many animals
more
comely
than we
are

The use of artificial beasts, that have their sight directly fixed towards heaven: I finde the Camels and the Estridges necke much more raised and upright, than ours. What beasts have not their face aloft and before, and looke not directly opposite; as we; and in their naturall posture descrie not as much of heaven and earth, as man doth? And what qualities of our corporall constitution, both in *Plato* and *Cicero* cannot fit and serve a thousand beasts? Such as most resemble man are the vilest and filthiest of all the rout: As for outward apparance and true shape of the visage, it is the Munkie or Ape:

Simia quam similis, turpissima bestia, nobis!

—*Cic. Nat. Deo. l. Enni.*

An Ape, a most ill-favored beast,
How like to us in all the rest?

as for inward and vitall parts, it is the Hog. Truly, when I consider man all naked (yea, be it in that sex, which seemeth to have and challenge the greatest share of eye-pleasing beautie) and view his defects, his naturall subjection, and manifold imperfections; I finde we have had much more reason to hide and cover our nakednesse, than any creature else. We may be excused for borrowing those which nature had therein favored more than us, with their beauties to adorne us, and under their spoiles of wooll, of haire, of feathers, and of silke to shroud us. Let us moreover observe, that man is the onely creature, whose wants offends his owne fellowes, and he alone that

in naturall actions must withdraw and sequester **adorn-**
 himselfe from those of his owne kinde. Verely **ments**
 it is an effect worthie consideration, that the
 skilfullest masters of amorous dalliances appoint
 for a remedie of venerian passions, a free and
 full survey of the bodie, which one longeth
 and seeks-after : and that to coole the longing
 and aswage the heat of friendship, one need but
 perfectly view and throughly consider what he
 loveth.

*Ille quod obscenas in aperto corpore partes
 Viderat, in cursu qui fuit, hæsît amor.*

—OVID. *Rem. Am.* ii. 33.

The love stood still, that ran in full carriere,
 When bare it saw parts that should not appeare.

And although this remedie may haply proceed from a squeamish and cold humor : yet is it a wonderfull signe of our imbecillitie, that the use and knowledge should so make us to be cloyd one of an other. It is not bashfulnesse so much, as art and foresight makes our Ladies so circumspect and unwilling to let us come into their closets before they are fully readie, and throughly painted, to come abroad, and shew themselves :

*Nec veneres nostras hoc fallit quo magis ipse
 Omnia sumopere hos vitæ postscenia celant,
 Quos retinere volunt adstrictoque esse in amore.*

—LUCR. *iv.* 1176.

Our Mistresses know this, which mak's them not disclose

Parts to be plaid within, especially from those
 Whom they would servants hold, and in their love-
 bands close.

Health
the
goodliest
blessing

Whereas in other creatures, there is nothing but we love, and pleaseth our senses: so that even from their excrements and ordure, we draw not only dainties to eat, but our richest ornaments and perfumes. This discourse of beautie toucheth only our common order, and is not so sacrilegious as it intendeth or dareth to comprehend those divine, supernaturall, and extraordinarie beauties, which sometimes are seen to shine amongst us, even as stars under a corporall and terrestriall veile. Moreover, that part of natures favours, which we impart unto beasts, is by our owne confession much more advantageous unto them. We assume unto our selves imaginarie and fantastick goods, future and absent goods, which humane capacitie can no way warrant unto her selfe; or some other, which by the overweening of our owne opinion, we falsly ascribe unto our selves; as reason, honour, and knowledge; and to them as their proper share we leave the essentiall, the manageable, and palpable goods, as peace, rest, securitie, innocencie, and health: Health I say, which is the goodliest and richest present, nature can impart unto us. So that even Stoike Philosophie dareth to affirme, that if *Heracleſus* and *Pherecydes* could have changed their wisdom with health, and by that meanes, the one to have rid himselfe of the dropsie, and the other of the lowsie-evill, which so sore tormented them, they would surely have done it: whereby they also yeeld so much more honor unto wisdom, by comparing and counterpeizing the same unto health, than they do in

this other proposition of theirs, where they say, that if *Circes* had presented *Ulysses* with two kinds of drinke, the one to turne a wiseman into a foole, the other to change a foole into a wiseman, he would rather have accepted that of folly, than have been pleased, that *Circes* should transforme his humane shape into a beasts. And they say, that wisdom her selfe would thus have spoken unto him; *Meddle not with me, but leave me rather than thou shouldest place me under the shape and bodie of an Asse.* What? This great and heavenly wisdom? Are Phylosophers contented then, to quit it for a corporall and earthly veile? Why then it is not for reasons sake, nor by discourse, and for the soule, we so much excell beasts: it is for the love we beare unto our beautie, unto our faire hew, and goodly disposition of limbs, that we reject, and set our understanding at nought, our wisdom, and what else we have. Well, I allow of this ingenious and voluntarie confession: surely they knew those parts, we so much labour to pamper, to be meere fantazies. Suppose, beasts had all the vertue, the knowledge, the wisdom and sufficiencie of the Stoikes, they should still be beasts; nor might they ever be compared unto a miserable, wretched, and senselesse man. For, when all is done, whatsoever is not as we are, is not of any worth. And God to be esteemed of us, must (as we will shew anon) draw somewhat neere it. Whereby it appeareth, that it is not long of a true discourse, but of a foolish-hardinesse, and selfe-presuming obstinacie, we

A foolish contempt for the bodies of beasts.

The
chains of
reason
and
passion

prefer our selves before other creatures, and sequester our selves from their condition and societie. But to returne to our purpose, we have for our part inconstancie, irresolution, uncertaintie, sorrow, superstition, carefulnesse for future things (yea after our life) ambition, covetousnesse, jalousie, envie, inordinate, mad and untamed appetites, warre, falsehood, disloyaltie, detraction, and curiositie. Surely we have strangely overpaid this worthie discourse, whereof we so much glorie, and this readinesse to judge, or capacitie to know, if we have purchased the same with the price of so infinit passions, to which we are uncessantly enthralled. If we be not pleased (as *Socrates* is) to make this noble prerogative over beasts, to be of force, that whereas nature hath prescribed them certaine seasons, and bounds for their naturall lust and voluptuousnesse, she hath given us at all howers and occasions the full reines of them. *Ut vinum agrotis, quia prodest raro, nocet sapissime, melius est non adhibere omnino, quam, spē dubie salutis in apertam perniciem incurrere: Sic, haud scio, an melius fuerit humano generi motum istum celerem cogitationis acumen, solertiam quem rationem vocamus, quoniam pestifera sint multis, admodum paucis salutaria, non dari omnino, quam tam munifice et tam large dari (Cic. Nat. Deor. iii.). As it is better not to use wine at all in sicke persons, because it seldome doth them good, but many times much hurt; than in hope of doubtfull health, to run into undoubted danger; so doe I not know, whether it were better that this swift motion of the thought;*

this sharpnesse, this conceitednesse, which we call Logic *reason, should not at all be given to mankind (be-* does not
cause it is pernicious unto many, and healthfull to ease gout
verie few) than that it should be given so plenti-
fully and so largely. What good or commoditie
may we imagine this far-understanding of so
many things brought ever unto Varro, and to
Aristotle? Did it ever exempt, or could it at
any time free them from humane inconveniences?
Were they ever discharged of those accidents
that incidently follow a seelie labouring man?
Could they ever draw any ease for the gout from
Logike? And howbeit they knew the humour
engendring the same to lodge in the joints, have
they felt it the lesse? Did they at any time make
a covenant with death, although they knew full
well that some nations rejoyce at her comming?
as also of Cuckoldship, because they knew women
to be common in some Countries? But con-
trariwise having both held the first ranke in
knowledge, the one amongst the Romanes, the
other among the Græcians, yea, and at such
times wherein sciences flourished most, we could
never learne, they had any speciall excellencie in
their life. Wee see the Græcian hath been put
to his plunges in seeking to discharge himselfe
from some notable imputations in his life. Was
it ever found that sensualitie, and health, are more
pleasing unto him that understands Astrologie and
Grammar?

(Illiterati num minus nervi rigent?—HOR. Epod. viii. 17.

As stiffe unlearned sinnewes stand,

As theirs that much more understand.)

The or shame and povertie lesse importunate and
 wisdom vexing?
 of the
 simple

*Scilicet et morbis, et debilitate carebis,
 Et luctum, et curam effugies, et tempora vite
 Longa tibi posthac fato meliore dabuntur.*

—JUVEN. *Sat.* xiv. 156.

Thou shall be from disease and weaknesse free,
 From moane, from care, long time of life to thee
 Shall by more friendly fate afforded be.

I have in my daies seen a hundred Artificers, and as many labourers, more wise and more happie, than some Rectors in the Universitie, and whom I would rather resemble. Me thinks Learning hath a place amongst things necessarie for mans life, as glorie, noblenesse, dignitie, or at most as riches, and such other qualities, which indeed stead the same; but a far-off, and more in conceipt, than by Nature. We have not much more need of offices, of rules, and lawes how to live in our common-wealth, than the Cranes and Ants have in theirs. Which notwithstanding, we see how orderly, and without instruction they maintaine themselves. *If man were wise he would value every thing according to it's worth, and as it is either more profitable, or more necessarie for life.* He that shall number us by our actions and proceedings, shall doubtlesse finde many more excellent-ones amongst the ignorant, than among the wiser sort: I meane in all kind of vertues. My opinion is, that ancient *Rome* brought forth many men of much more valour and sufficiencie, both for peace and warre, than this late learned *Rome*, which

with all her wisdom hath overthrowne her erst-flourishing estate. If all the rest were alike, then should honestie and innocencie at least belong to the ancient; for she was exceedingly well placed with simplicitie. But I will shorten this discourse, which haply would draw me further than I would willingly follow: yet thus much I will say more, that *onely humilitie and submission is able to make a perfect honest man.* Every one must not have the knowledge of his dutie referred to his own judgement, but ought rather to have it prescribed unto him, and not be allowed to chuse it at his pleasure and free-will: otherwise according to the imbecilitie of our reasons, and infinite varietie of our opinions, we might peradventure forge and devise such duties unto our selves, as would induce us (as *Epicurus* saith) to endeavour to destroy and devoure one another. *The first law that ever God gave unto man, was a Law of pure obedience.* It was a bare and simple commandement whereof man should enquire and know no further: forasmuch, as *to obey is the proper dutie of a reasonable soule, acknowledging a heavenly and superiour benefactor.* From obeying and yeelding unto him proceed all other vertues; even as all sinnes derive from selfe-over-weening. Contrariwise, the first temptation that ever seized on humane Nature was disobedience, by the Devils instigation, whose first poison, so far insinuated it selfe into us, by reason of the promises he made us of wisdom and knowledge, *Eritis sicut Diis scientes bonum et malum* (*Genesis*, cap. iii. 5).

Philosophical will-o'-the-wisps *You shall be like Gods, knowing both good and evill.* And the Syrens, to deceive *Ulysses*, and alluring him to fall into their dangerous and confounding snares, offer to give him the full fruition of knowledge. *The opinion of wisdom is the plague of man.* That is the occasion why ignorance is by our Religion recommended unto us, as an instrument fitting beleefe, and obedience. *Gavete, ne quis vos decipiat per Philosophiam et inanes seductiones, secundum elementa mundi* (Coloss. cap. ii. 8). *Take heed, lest any man deceive you by Philosophie and vaine seducements, according to the rudiments of the world.* All the Philosophers of all the sects that ever were, do generally agree in this point, that the chiefest felicitie, or *summum bonum*, consisteth in the peace and tranquillitie of the soule and bodie: but where shall we finde it?

*Ad summum sapiens uno minor est Jovis, dives,
Liber, honoratus, pulcher, Rex denique Regum.
Præcipue sanus, nisi cum pituita molesta est.*

—HOR. i. *Epist.* i. Antepen.

In summe, who wise is knowne,
Is lesse than Jove alone,
Rich, honorable, free, faire, King of Kings,
Chiefely in health, but when seagme trouble brings.

It seemeth verily, that Nature for the comfort of our miserable and wretched condition, hath allotted us no other portion, but presumption. It is therefore (as *Epictetus* saith) that man hath nothing that is properly his owne, but the use of his opinions. Our hereditarie portion is nothing but smoke and wind. The Gods (as

saith Philosophie) have health in true essence, and sicknesse in concept. *Man cleane contrarie, possesseth goods in imagination, and evils essentially.* We have had reason to make the powers of our imagination to be of force: For, all our felicities are but in concept, and as it were in a dreame. Heare but this poore and miserable creature vaunt himselfe. There is nothing (saith Cicero) so delightfull and pleasant as the knowledge of Letters; of Letters I say, by whose meanes the infinitie of things, the incomprehensible greatnesse of nature, the heavens, the earth, and all the Seas of this vast universe, are made knowne unto us. They have taught us Religion, moderation, stownesse of courage, and redeemed our soule out of darknesse, to make her see, and distinguish of all things, the high aswell as the lowe, the first as the last, and those betweene both. It is they that store and supplie us with all such things as may make us live happily and well, and instruct us how to passe our time without sorrow or offence. Seemeth not this goodly Orator to speake of the Almightyes and everliving Gods condition? And touching effects, a thousand poore seelie women in a countrie towne have lived, and live a life much more reposed, more peaceable, and more constant, than ever he did.

A too
high
praise
of study

—*Deus ille fuit Deus, inclyte Memmi,
Qui princeps vita rationem invenit eam, quæ
Nunc appellatur sapientia, quique per artem,
Fluctibus è tantis vitam tantisque tenebris,
In tam tranquillo et tam clara luce læavit.*

Man's
rash pre-
sumption

Good sir, it was God, God it was, first found
That course of mans life, which now is renown'd
By name of wisdome; who by art reposde,
Our life in so cleare light, calme so composde,
From so great darknesse, so great waves opposde.

Observe what glorious and noble words these be: yet but a sleight accident brought this wis-mans understanding to a far worse condition, than that of a simple shepherd: notwithstanding this divine Teacher, and this heavenly wisdome. Of like impudence is the promise of *Democritus* his Booke. *I will now speake of all things*: And that fond title which *Aristotle* gives us of mortall gods, and that rash judgement of *Chrysippus*, that *Dion* was as vertuous as God: And my *Seneca* saith, he acknowledgeth that God hath given him life, but how to live well, that he hath of himselfe. Like unto this other: *In virtute vere gloriamur, quod non contingeret, si id donum à Deo, non à nobis haberemus* (Cic. Nat. Deo. iii.). *We rightly vaunt us of vertue, which we should not doe, if we had it of God, not of our selves.* This also is *Senecaes*, that the wise man hath a fortitude like unto Gods; but [in humane] weaknesse, wherein he excelleth him. There is nothing more common, than to meet with such passages of temeritie: There is not any of us that will be so much offended to see himselfe compared to God, as he will deeme himselfe wronged to be depressed in the ranke of other creatures. So much are we more jealous of our owne interest, than of our Creators. But we must tread this foolish vanitie under foot, and boldly

shake off, and lively reject those fond-ridiculous foundations, whereon these false opinions are built. So long as man shall be perswaded to have meanes or power of himselfe, so long wil he denie, and never acknowledge what he oweth unto his Master: he shall alwaies (as the common saying is) make shift with his owne: He must be stripped into his shirt. Let us consider some notable example of the effect of Philosophie. *Possidonius* having long time been grieved with a painfull-lingring disease, which with the smarting-paine made him to wring his hands, and gnash his teeth, thought to scorne griefe, with exclayming and crying out against it: *Doo what thou list yet will I never say that thou art evill or paine.* He feeleth the same passions that my lackey doth, but he boasteth himselfe, that at least he containeth his tongue under the lawes of his sect. *Re succumbere non oportebat verbis gloriantem: It was not for him to yeeld in deeds, who had so braved it in words.* *Arcesilas* lying sicke of the gowt, *Carneades* comming to visit him, and seeing him to frowne, supposing he had been angrie, was going away againe, but he called him backe, and shewing him his feet and brest, said unto him, There is nothing come from thence hither. This hath somewhat a better garbe; for he feeleth himselfe grieved with sicknesse, and would faine be rid of it, yet is not his heart vanquished or weakned thereby, the other stands upon his stifnesse (as I feare) more verball than essentiall. And *Dionysius Heracleotes* being tormented with a

The philosopher
feels even
as the
lackey

Courage violent smarting in his eies, was at last per-
of igno- swaded to quit these Stoicke resolutions.
rance

Be it supposed that Learning and Knowledge should worke those effects they speake of, that is, to blunt and abate the sharpnesse of those accidents or mischances, that follow and attend us; doth she any more than what ignorance effecteth much more evidently and simply? The Philosopher *Pyrrho* being at Sea, and by reason of a violent storme in great danger to be cast away, presented nothing unto those that were with him in the ship, to imitate but the securitie of an Hog which was aboard, who nothing at all dismaied, seemed to behold and out-stare the tempest. Philosophie after all her precepts gives us over to the examples of a Wrestler, or of a Muletier, in whom we ordinarily perceive much lesse feeling of death, of paine, of griefe, and other inconveniences, and more undanted constancie, than ever Learning or Knowledge could store a man withall, unlesse he were borne, and of himselfe through some naturall habitude, prepared unto it. What is the cause, the tender members of a childe, or limbs of a horse are much more easie, and with lesse paine cut and incised than ours, if it be not ignorance? How many, onely through the power of imagination, have falne into dangerous diseases? We ordinarily see diverse that will cause themselves to be let blood, purged, and dieted, because they would be cured of diseases, they never felt but in conceit; when essentiall and true maladies faile us, then Science and knowledge lends us

hers: This colour or complexion (said she) presageth some rheumatike defluxion will ensue you: This soutring-hot season menaceth you with some febricant commotion; this cutting of the vitall line of your left hand warneth you of some notable and approaching indisposition. And at last she will roundly addresse her selfe unto perfect health; saying, this youthly vigor and suddain joy can not [possibly] stay in one place, her blood and strength must be abated, for feare it turne you to some mischief. Compare but the life of a man subject to these like imaginations, unto that of a day-labouring swaine, who followes his naturall appetites, who measureth all things onely by the present sense, and hath neither learning nor prognostications, who feeleth no disease but when he hath it: whereas the other hath often the stone imaginarily, before he have it in his reines: As if it were not time enough to endure the sicknesse when it shall come, he doth in his fansie prevent the same, and headlong runneth to meet with it. What I speake of Phisicke, the same may generally be applied and drawne to all manner of learning. Thence came this ancient opinion of those Philosophers, who placed chiefe felicitie in the acknowledging of our judgements weaknesse. My ignorance affords me as much cause of hope as of feare: and having no other regiment for my health, than that of other mens examples, and of the events, I see elsewhere in like occasions, whereof I find some of all sorts: And relie upon the comparisons, that are most favour-

Healthy
attitude
of the
labouring
swain

Simple able unto me. I embrace health with open
 minds armes, free, plaine, and full, and prepare my
 and appetite to enjoy it, by how much more, it is
 strong now lesse ordinarie and more rare unto me: so
 bodies far is it from me, that I with the bitterness of
 some new and forced kind of life, trouble her
 rest, and molest her ease. Beasts doe manifestly
 declare unto us, how many infirmities our mindes
 agitation bring us. That which is told us of
 those that inhabit *Bresill*, who die onely through
 age, which some impute to the clearenesse and
 calmenesse of their aire, I rather ascribe to the
 calmenesse and clearenesse of their minds, void
 and free from all passions, cares, toiling, and
 unpleasant labour, as a people that passe their
 life in a wonderfull kind of simplicitie and igno-
 rance, without letters, or lawes, and without
 Kings, or any Religion. Whence comes it (as
 we daily see by experience) that the rudest and
 grossest clownes, are more tough, strong, and
 more desired in amorous executions: And that
 the love of a Muletier is often more accepted,
 than that of a perfumed-quaint courtier? But
 because in the latter, the agitation of his minde
 doth so distract, trouble, and wearie the force of
 his bodie; as it also troubleth and wearieth it
 selfe, who doth belie, or more commonly cast
 the same downe even into madnesse, but her
 owne promptitude, her point, her agilitie, and to
 conclude her proper force? *Whence proceeds the
 subtillest follie, but from the subtillest wisdom?*
*As from the extreamest friendships proceed the
 extreamest enmities, and from the soundest healths,*

the mortallest diseases; so from the rarest and quickest agitations of our minds ensue the most distempered and outrageous frenzies. There wants but halfe a pegs turne to passe from the one to the other. In mad mens actions, we see how fitlie follie suteth and meets with the strongest operations of our minde. Who knowes not how unperceivable the neighbourhood betweene follie with the liveliest elevations of a free minde is; and the effects of a supreme and extraordinarie vertue? *Plato* affirmeth, that melancholy minds are more excellent and disciplinable; So are there none more inclinable unto follie. Diverse spirits are seene to be overthrowne by their owne force, and proper nimblenesse. What a start hath one of the most judicious, ingenious, and most fitted unto the ayre of true ancient poesie (*TORQUATO TASSO*), lately gotten by his owne agitation and self-gladnesse, above all other Italian Poets that have been of a long time? Hath not he wherewith to be beholding unto this his killing vivacitie? unto this clearenesse, that hath so blinded him? unto his exact and far-reaching apprehension of reasons which hath made him voide of reason? unto the curious and laborious pursute of Sciences, that have brought him unto sottishnesse? unto this rare aptitude to the exercises of the minde, which hath made him without minde or exercise? I rather spited than pittied him, when I saw him at *Ferrara*, in so pitteous a plight, that he survived himselfe; misacknowledging both himselfe and his labours, which

Mon-
taine
on Tasso

Pains of a too sensitive nature unwitting to him, and even to his face, have been published both uncorrected and maimed. Will you have a man healthy, will you have him regular, and in constant and safe condition? overwhelm him in the darke pit of idlenesse, and dulnesse. We must be besotted ere we can become wise, and dazled before we can be led. And if a man shall tell me, that the commoditie to have the appetite cold to griefes, and wallowish to evils, drawes this incommoditie after it, it is also consequently the same that makes us lesse sharpe and greedie to the enjoying of good, and of pleasures: It is true, but the miserie of our condition beareth, that we have not so much to enjoy, as to shun; and that extreme voluptuousnesse doth not so much pinch us, as a light smart: *Segnius homines bona quam mala sentiunt.* Men have a duller feeling of a good turne, than of an ill, we have not so sensible a feeling of perfect health, as we have of the least sicknesse.

—pungit

*In cute vix summa violatum plagula corpus,
Quando valere nihil quemquam movet. Hoc juvat unum
Quod me non torquet latus aut pes; cetera quisquam
Vin queat aut sanum sese, aut sentire valentem.*

A light stroke that dooth scarce the top-skin wound,
Greeves the gall'd bodie, when in health to be,
Dooth scarce move any: onely ease is found,
That neither side nor foot tormenteth me;
Scarce any in the rest can feel he's sound.

Our being in health, is but the privation of being ill. See wherefore the sect of Philosophie, that

hath most preferred sensualitie, hath also placed the same but to indolencie or unfeeling of paine. To have no infirmitie at all is the chieftest possession of health that man can hope-for (as *Ennius* said :) Healthy
attitude
of simpli-
city

Nimium boni est, cui nihil est mali.—*ENNIVS.*

He hath but too much good,
Whom no ill hath withstood.

For, the same tickling and pricking, which a man doth feel in some pleasures, and seemes beyond simple health, and indolencie, this active and moving sensualitie, or as I may terme it, itching and tickling pleasure aymes but to be free from paine, as her chieftest scope. The lust-full longing which allures us to the acquaintance of women, seekes but to expell that paine, which an earnest and burning desire doth possesse-us-with, and desireth but to allay it thereby to come to rest, and be exempted from this fever; And so of others. I say therefore, that if simplicitie directeth us to have no evill, it also addresseth us according to our condition to a most happie estate. Yet ought it not to be imagined so dull and heavie, that it be altogether senselesse. And *Crantor* had great reason to withstand the unsensiblenesse of *Epicurus*, if it were so deeply rooted, that the approaching and birth of evils might gainsay it. I commend not that unsensiblenesse, which is neither possible nor to be desired. I am well pleased not to be sicke, but if I be, I will know that I am so; and if I be cauterized or cut, I will feel it.

All pain
is not
amiss

Verily, he that should root out the knowledge of evill, should therewithall extirp the knowledge of voluptuousnesse, and at last bring man to nothing. *Istud nihil dolere, non sine magna mercede contingit immanitatis in animo, stuporis in corpore* (Cic. Tusc. Qu. iii.). This verie point, not to be offended or grieved with any thing, befalls not freely to a man, without either inhumanitie in his minde, or senselesnesse in his bodie. Sicknesse is not amisse unto man, comming in her turne: Nor is he alwaies to shun paine, nor ever to follow sensualitie. It is a great advantage for the honour of ignorance, that Science it selfe throwes us into her armes, when she findes her selfe busie to make us strong against the assaults of evils: she is forced to come to this composition; to yeeld us the bridle, and give us leave to shrowd our selves in her lap, and submit our selves unto her favour, to shelter us against the assaults and injuries of fortune. For, what meaneth she else, when she perswades us to withdraw our thoughts from the evils that possesse us, and entertaine them with fore-gon pleasures, and stead us as a comfort of present evils with the remembrance of fore-past felicities, and call a vanished content to our help, for to oppose it against that which vexeth us? *Levationes aegritudinum in avocatione à cogitanda molestia, et revocatione ad contemplandas voluptates ponit.* Eases of griefes he reposeth either in calling from the thought of offence, or calling to the contemplations of some pleasures. Unlesse it be, that where force failes her, she will use policie, and shew a trick of nimblenesse and turne away,

where the vigor both of her bodie and armes shall faile her. For, not onely to a strict Philosopher, but simply to any settled man, when he by experience feeleth the burning alteration of a hot fever, what current paiment is it to pay him with the remembrance of the sweetnesse of Greeke wine? It would rather empaire his bargaine.

Illusory
consola-
tions of
philos-
ophy

Che ricordarsi il ben doppia la noia.

For to thinke of our joy,
Redoubles our annoy.

Of that condition is this other counsell, which Philosophie giveth, onely to keepe forepast felicities in memorie, and thence blot out such griefes as we have felt: as if the skill to forget were in our power: and counsell, of which we have much lesse.

Suavis est laborum præteritorum memoria.

—Cic. Fin. ii. Eurip.

Of labours overpast,
Remembrance hath sweet taste.

What? shall Philosophie, which ought to put the weapons into my hands, to fight against fortune; which should harden my courage, to suppress and lay at my feet all humane adversities, will she so faint, as to make me like a fearfull cunnie creepe into some lurking-hole, and like a craven to tremble and yeeld? For, memorie representeth unto us, not what we chuse, but what pleaseth her. Nay, there is nothing so deeply imprinteth any thing in our remembrance,

I remember that which I would forget as the desire to forget the same: It is a good way to commend to the keeping; and imprint any thing in our minde, to sollicite her to lose the same. And that is false. *Est situm in nobis, ut et aduersa, quasi perpetua oblivione obruamus, et secunda iucunde et suaviter meminerimus* (CIC. *Fin. Bon. 1.*). This is ingrafted in us, or at least in our power, that we both burie in perpetuall oblivion things past against us, and record with pleasure and delight whatsoever was for us.

And this is true, *Memini etiam quæ nolo; obli-
visci non possum quæ volo* (PLU. in *vita Them.*). I remember even those things I would not; and can not forget what I would. And whose counsell is this? his, *Qui se unus sapientem profiteri sit ausus*. Who onely durst professe himselfe a wise man.

*Qui genus humanum ingenio superavit, et omnes
Præstrinxit stellas, exortus uti ætherius Sol.*

—LUCR. iii. 1086. Epicur.

Who from all mankind bare for wit the prize,
And dim'd the stars, as when skies Sunne doth rise.

To emptie and diminish the memorie, is it not
the readie and onely way to ignorance?

Iners malorum remedium ignorantia est.

—SEN. *Oed. act. iii. sce. i.*

Of ills a remedie by chance,
And verie dull is ignorance.

We see diverse like precepts, by which we are
permitted to borrow frivolous apparances from
the vulgar sort, where lively and strong reason

is not of force sufficient : alwaies provided, they bring us content and comfort. Where they can not cure a sore, they are pleased to stupifie and hide the same. I am perswaded they will not denie me this, that if they could [possibly] adde any order or constancie to a mans life, that it might thereby be still maintained in pleasure and tranquillitie, by, or through any weaknesse or infirmite of judgement, but they would accept it.

—*potare, et spargere flores*

Incipiam, patiarque vel inconsultus haberi.

—HOR. i. *Epist.* v. 14.

I will begin to strew flowers, and drinke free,
And suffer witlesse, thriftlesse, held to bee.

There should many Philosophers be found of *Lycas* his opinion : This man in all other things being verie temperate, and orderly in his demeanors, living quietly and contentedly with his familie, wanting of no dutie or office both toward his owne houshold and strangers, verie carefully preserving himselfe from all hurtfull things : notwithstanding through some alteration of his senses or spirits, he was so possessed with this fantastick conceit or obstinate humour, that he ever and continually thought to be amongst the Theaters, where he still saw all manner of spectacles, pastimes, sports, and the best Comedies of the world. But being at last by the skill of Physitions cured of this maladie, and his offending humour purged, he could hardly be held from putting them in suite, to the end they might

Know- restore him to the former pleasures and contents
ledge of his imagination.
brings
sorrow

—*pol me occidistis amici,
Non servastis, ait, cui sic extorta voluptas,
Et demptus per vim menti gratissimus error.*

—HOR. i. *Epist.* ii. 138.

You have not sav'd me, friends, but slaine me quite,
(Quoth he) from whom so rest is my delight,
And error purg'd, which best did please my
spright.

Of a raving like unto that of *Thrasilaus*, sonne unto *Pythodorus*, who verily beleeyed, that all the ships that went out from the haven of *Pyreum*, yea and all such as came into it, did only travell about his businesse, rejoycing when any of them had made a fortunate voyage, and welcommed them with great gladnesse: His brother *Crito*, having caused him to be cured, and restored to his better senses, he much bewailed and grieved the condition wherein he had formerly lived in such joy, and so void of all care and griefe. It is that, which that ancient Greeke verse saith; That not to be so advised brings many commodities with it:

Ἐν τῷ φρονεῖν γὰρ μὲν ἡδιστὸς βίος.

—SOPH. *Aia.* *frag.*

The sweetest life I wis,
In knowing nothing is.

And as *Ecclesiastes* witnesseth: In much wisdom, much sorrow; And who getteth knowledge, purchaseth sorrow and griefe. Even that, to which Philosophy doth in generall termes allow this last remedy, which she or-

daineth for all manner of necessities; that is, to make an end of that life; which we cannot endure. *Placet? pare: Non placet? quacunque vis exi. Pungit dolor? vel fodiat sane: si nudus es, da jugulum: sin tectus armis vulcanis, id est, fortitudine, resiste* (Cic. Turr. Que. ii.). *Doth it like you? obey: doth it not like you? yet out us you will: doth grieve pricke you? and let it pierce you too: if you be naked, yeeld your throat: but if you be covered with the armour of Vulcan, that is, with fortitude, resist.* And that saying used of the Græcians in their banquets, which they aply unto it, *Aut bibat, aut abeat* (Cic. Ib. v.): *Either let him carouse, or carry him out of the house: which rather fitteth the mouth of a Gascoine, than that of Cicero, who very easily doth change the letter B into V,*

Philosophy of those who carouse

*Vobis si recte nescis, discede peritis:
Lusisti satis, edisti satis, atque bibisti:
Tempus abire tibi est, ne potum largius equo
Rideat, et pulset lascivia decentius ætas.*

—HOR. ii. Epist. ii. ult.

Live well you cannot, them that can give place;
Well have you sported, eaten well, drunke well:
Tis time you part; lest wanton youth with grace
Laugh at, and knock you that with swilling swell.

what is it but a confession of his insufficiency,
and a sending one backe not only to ignorance,
there to be shrowded, but unto stupidity it selfe,
unto unsensiblenesse and not being?

*—Democritum post quam matura vetustas
Admonuit memorem; motus languescere mentis:
Sponte sua letho caput obvius obtulit ipse.*

—LUCR. iii. 1083.

Cutting
the
Gordian
knot

When ripe age put *Democritus* in minde,
That his mindes motions fainted, he to finde
His death went willing, and his life resign'd.

It is that which *Anthistenes* said, that a man
must provide himselfe either of wit to under-
stand, or of a halter to hang himselfe: And that
which *Chrysippus* alleaged upon the speech of
the Poet *Tyrtæus*,

De la vertu, ou de mort approchir.

—*PLUT.* in Solons life.

Or vertue to approach,
Or else let death incroch.

And *Crates* said, that love was cured with
hunger, if not by time; and in him that liked
not these two meanes, by the halter. That
Sextius, to whom *Seneca* and *Plutarke* give so
much commendation, having given over all things
else and betaken himselfe to the study of Philo-
sophy, seeing the progresse of his studies so
tedious and slow, purposed to cast himselfe into
the Sea; Ranne unto death for want of know-
ledge: Reade here what the law, saith upon
this subject. If peradventure any great incon-
venience happen, which cannot be remedied, the
haven is not farre-off, and by swimming may a
man save himselfe out of his body, as out of
a leaking boat: for, it is feare to die, and not
desire to live, which keepes a foole joynd to
his body. As life through simplicity becom-
meth more pleasant, So (as I crewhile began
to say) becommeth it more innocent and better.
The simple and the ignorant (saith *S. Paul*)

raise themselves up to heaven, and take possession of it; whereas we, withall the knowledge we have, plunge our selves downe to the pit of hell. I rely neither upon *Valentinianus* (a professed enemy to knowledge and learning) nor upon *Licinius* (both Roman Emperours) who named them the venime and plague of all politike estates: Nor on *Mahomet*, who (as I have heard) doth utterly interdict all manner of learning to his subjects. But the example of that great *Lycurgus*, and his authority ought to beare chiefe sway, and the reverence of that divine Lacedemonian policy, so great, so admirable, and so long time flourishing in all vertue and felicity without any institution or exercise at all of letters. Those who returne from that new world, which of late hath beene discovered by the Spaniards, can witnesse unto us, how those nations being without Magistrates or law, live much more regularly and formally than we, who have amongst us more Officers and lawes, than men of other professions, or actions.

Worth
of the
Spartan
polity

*Di citatorie piene e di libelli,
D' examine, di carte, e di procure
Hanno le mani e'l seno, e gran fastelli
Di chiose, di consigli e di letture,
Per cui le facultà de' poverelli
Non sono mai ne le città sicure.
Hanno dietro e dinanzi e d' ambo i lati,
Notai, procuratori, ed advocati.*

—ARIOSTO, can. xiv. stanz. 84.

Their hands and bosoms with writs and citations,
With papers, libels, proxies, full they beare,
And bundels great of strict examinations,

The
deadly
sin of
pride

Of glosses, counsels, readings here and there.
Whereby in townes poore men of occupations
Possesse not their small goods secure from feare,
Before, behind, on each sides Advocates,
Proctors, and Notaries hold up debates.

It was that; which a Roman Senatour said, that *their predecessors had their breath stinking of garlike, and their stomake perfumed with a good conscience*: and contrary, the men of his times, outwardly smelt of nothing but sweet odours, but inwardly they stunk of all vices: Which in mine opinion; is as much to say, they had much Knowledge and Sufficiency, but great want of honesty. Incivility, ignorance, simplicity, and rudnesse, are commonly joyned with innocency: Curiosity, subtilty, and knowledge, are ever followed with malice: Humility, feare, obedience, and honesty (which are the principall instruments for the preservation of humane society) require a single docile soule and which presumeth little of her selfe: Christians have a peculiar knowledge; *how curiosity is in a man a naturall, and originall infirmity*. The care to encrease in wisdome and knowledge was the first overthrow of man-kinde: It is the way whereby man hath headlong cast himselfe downe into eternall damnation. Pride is his losse and corruption: It is pride, that misleadeth him from common waies; that makes him to embrace all newfangles, and rather chuse to be chiefe of a stragling troupe and in the path of perdition, and be regent of some erroneous sect, and a teacher of falsehood, than a disciple

in the schoole of truth, and suffer himselfe to be led and directed by the hand of others in the ready beaten high way. It is haply that, which the ancient Greeke proverbe implieth; ἡ δεισιδαιμονία, καθάπερ πατρί, τῷ τοῦτο πελθεταί. *Superstition obaieth pride as a father.* Oh over-weening, how much doest thou hinder us? *Socrates* being advertised, that the God of wisdomē, had attributed the name of wise unto him, was thereat much astonished, and diligently searching and rousing up himself; and ransaking the very secrets of his heart found no foundation or ground for this divine sentence. He knew some that were as just, as temperate, as valiant and as wise as he, and more eloquent, more faire and more profitable to their country. In fine he resolved, that he was distinguished from others, and reputed wise, only because he did not so esteeme himselfe: And that his God deemed the opinion of science and wisdomē a singular bottishnes in man; and that his best doctrine was the doctrine of ignorance, and simplicitie his greatest wisdomē. The sacred writ pronounceth them to be miserable in this world, that esteeme themselves. *Dust and ashes* (saith he) *what is there in thee, thou shouldst so much glory of?* And in another place, God had made man like unto a shadowe, of which who shall judge, when the light being gone, it shall vanish away? *Man is a thing of nothing.* So far are our faculties from conceiving that high Deitie, that of our Creators works, those beare his marke best, and are most his owne, which we

Man is
like unto
a shadow

We call immortal things understand least. It is an occasion to induce Christians to beleefe, when they chance to meet with any incredible thing, that it is so much the more according unto reason, by how much more it is against humane reason. If it were according unto reason it were no more a wonder; and were it to be matched, it were no more singular. *Melius scitur Deus nesciendo* (S. AUGUSTINE). *God is better known by our not knowing him.* Saith S. Augustine: And Tacitus, *Sanctius est ac reverentius de actis deorum credere quam scire* (TACITUS, *Mor. German.*). *It is a course of more holinesse and reverence, to bold beleefe, than to have knowledge of Gods actions.* And Plato deemes it to be a vice of impiety, over-curiously to enquire after God, after the world, and after the first causes of things. *Atque illum quidem parentem hujus universitatis invenire, difficile: et quum jam inveneris, indicare in vulgus, nefas.* (CIC. *Univer.*). *Both it is difficult to finde out the father of this universe, and when you have found him, it is unlawfull to reveale him to the vulgar, saith Cicero.* We easily pronounce puissance, truth and justice; they be words importing some great matter, but that thing we neither see nor conceive. We say that God feareth, that God will be angry, and that God loveth.

Immortalia mortali sermone notantes,

—LUCR. v. 122.

Who with tearmes of mortality
Note things of immortality.

They be all agitations and [emotions], which

according to our forme can have no place in God, nor we imagine them according to his. **by mortal names**
It onely belongs to God to know himselfe, and interpret his owne workes; and in our tongues he doth it improperly, to descend and come downe to us, that are, and lie groveling on the ground. How can wisdom (which is the choice betweene good and evill) besee me him, seeing no evill doth touch him? How reason and intelligence, which we use to come from obscure to apparant things, seeing there is no obscure thing in God? Justice which distributeth unto every man what belongs unto him, created for the society and conversation of man, how is she in God? How temperance, which is the moderation of corporall sensualities, which have no place at all in his God-head? Fortitude patiently to endure sorrowes, and labours and dangers, appertaineth [as] little unto him; these three things no way approaching him, having no access unto him. And therefore *Aristotle* holds him to be equally exempted from vertue and from vice. *Neque gratia, neque ira teneri potest, quod quæ talia essent, imbecilla essent omnia* (Cic. Nat. Deor. i.). *Nor can he be possessed with favor and anger; for all that is so, is but weak.* The participation which we have of the knowledge of truth, what soever she is, it is not by our owne strength we have gotten it; God hath sufficiently taught it us in that he hath made choice of the simple, common and ignorant, to teach us his wonderfull secrets. Our faith hath not been purchased

The
wisdom
of this
world

by us: it is a gift proceeding from the liberality of others. It is not by our discourse or understanding, that we have received our religion; it is by a forreine authority, and commandement. The weaknesse of our judgement, helps us more than our strength to compasse the same; and our blindness more than our clearesighted eyes. It is more by the meanes of our ignorance, than of our skill, that we are wise in heavenly knowledge. It is no marvell if our naturall and terrestriall meanes cannot conceive the supernaturall, or apprehend the celestial knowledge. Let us adde nothing of our own unto it, but obedience and subjection: For (as it is written) *I will confound the wisdom of the wise, and destroy the understanding of the prudent, where is the Wise? Where is the Scribe? Where is the disputer of this world?* (1 Cor. i. 19, 20, 21). Hath not God made the wisdom of this world foolishnesse? For seeing the world by wisdom knew not God in the wisdom of God, it hath pleased him, by the vanity of preaching, to save them that beleeve. Yet must I see at last, whether it be in mans power to finde what he seekes for: and if this long search, wherein he hath continued so many ages, hath enriched him with any new strength or solid truth: I am perswaded, if he speake in conscience, he will confesse, that all the benefit he hath gotten by so tedious a pursuit, hath been, that he hath learned to know his owne weaknesse. That ignorance which in us was naturall, we have with long study con-

firmed and averred. It hath happened unto those that are truly learned, as it hapneth unto eares of Corne, which as long as they are empty, grow and raise their head aloft, upright and stout; but if they once become full and bigge, with ripe Corne, they begin to humble and droope downeward. So men having tried, and sounded all, and in all this Chaos, and huge heape of learning and provision of so infinite different things, and found nothing that is substantiall firme and steadie, but all vanitie, have renounced their presumption, and too late known their naturall condition. It is that, which *Vellcius* upbraids *Cotta* and *Cicero* withall, that they have learnt of *Philo*, to have learned nothing. *Pherecydes*, one of the seaven wise, writing to *Thales* even as he was yeelding up the Ghost; I have (saith he) appoynted my friends, as soone as I shalbe layed in my grave, to bring thee all my writings. If they please thee and the other Sages publish them; If not, conceale them. They containe no certaintie, nor doe they any whit satisfie mee. My profession is not to know the truth nor to attaine it. I rather open than discover things. *The wisest that ever was being demanded what he knew, answered, he knew that he knew nothing.* He verified what some say, that the greatest part of what we know, is the least part of what we know not: that is, that that which we thinke to know, is but a parcel, yea and a small particle of our ignorance. We know things in a dreame (saith *Plato*) and we are

is foolish-
ness with
God

Nothing ignorant of them in truth. *Omnes pene veteres nihil cognosci, nihil percipi, nihil sciri posse dixerunt: angustos sensus, imbecilles animos, brevia curricula vite* (Cic. Acad. Q. i.). Almost all the ancients affirmed nothing may be known, nothing perceived, nothing understood: that our senses are narrow, our mindes are weake, and the race of our life is short. Cicero himselfe, who ought all he had unto learning, *Valerius* saith, that in his age he began to disesteeme letters: And whil'st he practised them, it was without bond to any speciall body, following what seemed probable unto him, now in the one, and now in the other Sect; ever holding himselfe under the Academies doubtfulnessse. *Dicendum est, sed ita ut nihil affirmem: queram omnia, dubitans plerumque, et nihil diffidens* (Cic. Divin. i.). Speake I must, but so as I avouch nothing, question all things, for the most part in doubt and distrust of my selfe. I should have too much adoe, if I would consider man after his owne fashion, and in grose: which I might doe by his owne rule, who is wont to judge of truth not by the weight or value of voices but by the number. But leave we the common people,

Qui vigilans stertit, —LUCR. iii. 1091.

Who snoare while they are awake.

Mortua cui vita est, prope jam vivo atque videnti:

—LUCR. iii. 1089.

Whose life is dead while yet they see,

And in a manner living be.

Who feeleth not himselfe, who judgeth not himselfe, who leaves the greatest part of his

naturall parts idle. I will take man even in his highest estate. Let us consider him in this small number of excellent and choise men, who having naturally beene endowed with a peculiar and exquisite wit, have also fostred and sharpened the same with care, with study and with art, and have brought and strained unto the highest pitch of wisdom, it may possibly reach unto. They have fitted their soule unto all senses, and squared the same to all byases; they have strengthened and under-propped it with all foraine helpes, that might any way fit or stead her, and have enriched and adorned her with whatsoever they have beene able to borrow, either within or without the world for her availe: It is in them, that the extreme height of humane Nature doth lodge. They have reformed the world with policies and lawes. They have instructed the same with arts and sciences, as also by example of their wonderfull manners and life. I will but make accompt of such people, of their witnesse and of their experience. Let us see how far they have gone, and what holdfast they have held by. The maladies and defects, which we shall finde in that College, the world may boldly allow them to be his. Whosoever seekes for any thing, commeth at last to this conclusion and saith, that either he hath found it, or that it cannot be found, or that he is still in pursuit after it. All Philosophy is divided into these three kinde. Her purpose is to seeke out the truth, the knowledge and the certainty. The Peripatetike, the

What
is the
evidence
of the
wise?

The
philosophers'
search for
Truth

Epicurians, the Stoickes and others have thought they had found it. These have established the Sciences that we have, and as of certaine knowledges have treated of them; *Clitomachus*, *Carnepades* and the *Academikes*, have despaired the finding of it, and judged that truth could not be conceived by our meanes. The end of these is weaknesse and ignorance. The former had more followers, and the worthiest Sectaries. *Pyrro* and other *Sceptikes*, or *Epechistes*, whose doctrine or manner of teaching, many auncient learned men have thought to have beene drawne, from *Homer*, from the seaven wise men, from *Archilochus* and *Euripides*, to whom they joyne *Zeno*, *Democritus* and *Xenophanes*, say, that they are still seeking after truth. These judge that those are infinitely deceived, who imagine they have found it, and that the second degree is over boldly vaine in affirming that mans power is altogether unable to attaine unto it. For to stablish the measure of our strength, to know and distinguish of the difficulty of things is a great, a notable and extreme science, which they doubt whether man be capable thereof or no.

*Nil sciri quisquis putat, id quoque nescit,
An sciri possit, quo se nil scire fatetur.*

—*Luca. iv. 471.*

Who think's nothing is knowne, knowes not that,
whereby hee

Grants he knowes nothing if it knowne may bee.

That ignorance, which knoweth judgeth and condemneth it selfe, is not an absolute ignorance: For, to be so, she must altogether be ignorant of her selfe. So that the profession

of the Pyrronians is ever to waver, to doubt and to enquire; never to be assured of any thing, nor to take any warrant of himself. Of the three actions or faculties of the soule; that is to say, the imaginative, the concupiscible, and the consenting, they allow and conceive the two former; the last, they hold and defend to be ambiguous, without inclination or approbation; either of one or other side, be it never so light, *Zeno* in jesture painted forth his imagination upon this division of the soules faculties: the open and out-stretched hand was apparence; the hand halfe-shut, and fingers somewhat bending, consent: the fist close, comprehension: if the fist of the left-hand were closely clinched together, it signified Science. Now this situation of their judgement, straight and inflexible, receiving all objects with application or consent, leads them unto their *Ataraxie*; which is the condition of a quiet and settled life, exempted from the agitations which we receive by the impression of the opinion and knowledge we imagine to have of things; whence proceed, feare, avarice, envie, immoderate desires, ambition, pride, superstition, love of novelties, rebellion, disobedience, obstinacie, and the greatest number of corporall evils: yea by that meane they are exempted from the jealousie of their owne discipline, for they contend but faintly: They feare nor revenge, nor contradiction in the disputations. When they say, that heavy things descend downward, they would be loath to be beleevd, but desire to be contradicted, thereby

. **An** to engender doubt, and suspence of judgement,
apothesis of which is their end and drift. They put forth
doubt their propositions, but to contend with those;
 they imagine we hold in our conceipt. If you
 take theirs, then will they undertake to main-
 taine the contrary: all is one to them, nor will
 they give a penny to chuse. If you propose
 that snow is blacke, they wil argue on the
 other side, that it is white. If you say it is
 neither one nor other, they wil maintaine it
 to be both. If by a certaine judgement, you
 say that you cannot tell, they will maintaine
 that you can tell. Nay, if by an affirmative
 axiome, you swear that you stand in some doubt,
 they will dispute, that you doubt not of it, or
 that you cannot judge or maintaine, that you are
 in doubt. And by this extremitie of doubt,
 which staggereth it selfe, they separat and de-
 vide themselves from many opinions, yea from
 those which divers wayes have maintained both
 the doubt and the ignorance. Why shall it not
 be granted then (say they) as to Dogmatists, or
 Doctrine-teachers, for one to say greene, and
 another yellow, so for them to doubt? *Is there*
any thing can be proposed unto you, eyther to allow
or refuse, which may not lawfully be considered as
ambiguous and doubtfull? And whereas others
 be carryed either by the custome of their Coun-
 trie, or by the institution of their Parents, or
 by chance, as by a Tempest, without choyce
 or judgement, yea sometimes before the age
 of discretion, to such or such another opinion,
 to the Stoike or Epicurian Sect, to which

they finde themselves more engaged, subjected or fast tyed, as to a prize they cannot let goe: *Ad quamcunque disciplinam, velut Tempestate, delati ad eam tanquam ad saxum adherescunt* (Cic. *Academ. Qu. x.*). Being carryed as it were by a Tempest, to any kinde of doctrine, they sticke close to it, as it were to a rocke. Why shall not these likewise be permitted, to maintaine their liberty, and consider of things without dutie or compulsion? *Hec liberiores, et solutiores, quod integra illis est judicandi potestas* (*Ibid.*). They are so much the freer and at liberty, for that their power of judgement is kept entire. Is it not some advantage for one to finde himselfe disengaged from necessitie, which brideleth others? Is it not better to remaine in suspence, than to entangle himselfe in so many errours, that humane fantasie hath brought forth? Is it not better for a man to suspend his owne perswasion, than to meddle with these seditious and quarellous divisions? What shall I chuse? Mary, what you list, so you chuse. A very foolish answer; to which it seemeth neverthelesse, that all Dogmatisme arriveth; by which it is not lawfull for you to bee ignorant of that we know not. Take the best and strongest side, it shall never be so sure, but you shall have occasion to defend the same, to close and combat a hundred and a hundred sides? Is it not better to keepe out of this confusion? You are suffered to embrace as your honour and life *Aristotles* opinion, upon the eternitie of the soule, and to belie and contradict whatsoever *Plato* saith concerning that;

A condition of suspence

"I con- and shal they be interdicted to doubt of it? If
 firme it be lawfull for *Panecius* to maintaine his judge-
 nothing, ment about *Aruaspices*, *Dreames*, *Oracles* and
Prophecies, whereof the *Stoikes* makes no doubt
 at all: Wherefore shall not a wiseman dare that
 in all things, which this man dareth in such as
 he hath learned of his Masters? Confirmed
 and established by the general consent of the
 Schoole whereof he is a Sectary and a Professor?
 If it be a Childe that judgeth, he wots not what
 it is; if a learned man, he is fore-stalled. They
 have reserved a great advantage for themselves
 in the combat, having discharged themselves of
 the care how to shroud themselves. They care
 not to be beaten, so they may strike againe:
 And all is fish that comes to net with them:
 If they overcome, your proposition halteth; if
 you, theirs is lame; if they faile they verifie
 ignorance, if you, she is verified by you; if they
 prove that nothing is knowen, it is very well:
 If they cannot prove it, it is good alike: *Ut*
quum in eadem re paria contrariis in partibus
mondata inveniuntur, facilius ab utraque parte
assertio sustineatur (*Cic. Ibid.*). So as when
 the same matter the like weight and moment is
 found on divers parts, we may the more easily
 withhold avouching on both parts. And they
 suppose to find out more easily, why a thing is
 false, than true, and that which is not, than that
 which is: and what they beleeeve not, than what
 they beleeeve. Their manner of speech is, *I*
conferme nothing: It is no more so than thus,
 or neither: I conceive it not; Apparances are

every where alike. The law of speaking *pro* or *contra* is all one. *Nothing seemeth true, that may not seeme false.* Their Sacramentall word is; ἐρέχω, which is as much to say, as I hold and stir not. Behold the burdona of their songs and other such like. Theyr effects is, a pure, entire and absolute surceasing and suspence of judgement. They use their reason, to enquire and to debate; and not to stay and choose. Whosoever shall imagine a perpetuall confession of ignorance, and a judgement upright and without staggering, to what occasion soever may chauce; That man conceives the true Pyrrhonisme: I expound this fantazy as plaine as I can, because many deeme it hard to be conceived: And the Authors themselves represent it somewhat obscurely and diversly. Touching the actions of life, in that they are after the common sort, they are lent and applied to naturall inclinations, to the impulsion and constraint of passions, to the constitutions of lawes, and customes, and to the tradition of arts: *Non enim nos Deus ista scire, sed tantummodo uti voluit* (Cic. Divin. i.). *For God would not have us know these things, but onely use them.* By such meanes they suffer their common actions to be directed, without any conceit or judgement, which is the reason that I cannot well sort unto this discourse, what is said of *Pyrrho*. They faine him to be stupide and unmovable, leading a kinde of wild and unociable life, not shunning to be hit with Cartas, presenting himselfe unto downefals, refusing to conforme himselfe to the lawes. It is an endearing of his

‘Nothing
seemeth
true that
may not
seeme
false’

Ordinary discipline. Hee would not make himselfe a
life not stone or a blocke, but a living, discoursing and
rul'd by reasoning man, enjoying all pleasures and naturall
philos- commodities, busying himselfe with, and using
sophy all his corporall and spirituall parts, in rule and
 right. The fantastickall and imaginary, and false
 privileges, which man hath usurped unto him-
 selfe, to sway, to appoint, and to establish, he
 hath absolutely renounced and quit them. Yet
 is there no Sect, but is enforced to allow her
 wise Sectary, in chiefe to follow diverse things
 nor comprized nor perceived, nor allowed, if he
 will live. And if he take shipping, he followes
 his purpose, not knowing whether it shall be
 profitable or no: and yeeldes to this, that the
 shippe is good, that the pilote is skilfull, and
 that the season is fit; circumstances only prob-
 able; After which he is bound to goe, and
 suffer himselfe to be removed by apparances
 alwaies provided they have no expresse con-
 trariety in them. Hee hath a body, he hath a
 soule, his senses urge him forward, his mind
 moveth him. Although he finde not this proper
 and singular marke of judging in himselfe, and
 that hee perceive he should not engage his con-
 sent, seeing some falshood may be like unto this
 truth: Hee ceaseth not to [direct] the offices
 of his life fully and commodiously. How many
 arts are there, which professe to consist more
 in conjecture, than in the science; That distin-
 guish not betweene truth and falshood, but onely
 follow seeming? There is both true and false
 (say they) and there are meanes in us to seeke it

out, but not to stay it when we touch it. It is better for us to suffer the order of the world to manage us without further inquisition. A mind warranted from prejudice, hath a marvellous preferment to tranquility. *Men that censure and controule their judges, doe never duly submit themselves unto them.* How much more docile and tractable are simple and uncurious mindes found both towards the lawes of religion and Politike decrees, than these over-vigilant and nice wits, teachers of divine and humane causes? There is nothing in mans invention, wherein is so much likelihood, possibilitie and profit. This representeth man bare and naked, acknowledging his naturall weakenesse, apt to receive from above some strange power, disfurnished of all humane knowledge, and so much the more fitte to harbour divine understanding, disannulling his judgement, that so he may give more place unto faith: Neither misbelieving nor establishing any doctrine or opinion repugnant unto common lawes and observances, humble, obedient, disciplinable and studious; a sworne enemy to Heresie, and by consequence exempting himselfe from all vaine and irreligious opinions, invented and brought up by false Sects. It is a white sheet prepared to take from the finger of God what form soever it shall please him to imprint therein. *The more we addresse and commit our selves to God, and reject our selves, the better it is for us, Accept (saith Ecclesiastes) in good part things both in shew and taste, as from day to day they are presented unto thee, the rest is beyond thy know-*

The
simple
and
trans-
parent
nature

Blind ledge. *Dominus novit cogitationes hominum, quoniam*
 leaders vana sunt. (*Psal. xciii. 11*). *The Lord knowes*
 of the the thoughts of men, that they are vayne. See
 blind how of three generall Sects of Philosophie, two
 make expresse profession of doubt and ignorance;
 and in the third, which is the Dogmatists, it is
 easie to be discerned, that the greatest number
 have taken the face of assurance; onely because
 they could set a better countenance on the matter.
 They have not so much gone about to establish
 any certainty in us, as to shew how farre they
 had waded in seeking out the truth. *Quam docti*
singunt magis quam norunt. Which the learned doe
rather conceit, than know.

Tymæus, being to instruct *Socrates*, of what he
 knowes of the Gods, of the world and of men,
 purposeth to speake of it, as one man to another;
 and that it sufficeth, if his reasons be as probable
 as another mans: For, exact reasons are neither
 in his hands, nor in any mortall man: which
 one of his Sectaries hath thus imitated: *Ut*
potero, explicabo: nec tamen, ut Pythius Apollo,
certa ut sint et fina, que dicere; sed, ut homun-
culus, probabilis conjectura sequens (*Cic. Tusc.*
Qu. i.). *As I can, I will explaine them; yet not*
as Apollo giving oracles, that all should be certaine
and set downe, that I say; but as a means man,
who followes likelihoode by his conjecture. And
that upon the discourse of the contempt of death;
a naturall and popular discourse. Elsewhere he
hath translated it, upon Platoes very words. Si
forte, de Deorum natura ortusque mundi discerentes,
minus quod habemus in animo consequimur, baud

erit mirum. *Æquum est enim meminisse, et me, qui disseram, hominem esse, et vos qui iudicatis, ut, si probabilia dicentur, nihil ultra requiratis* (Cic. *Univers.*). It will be no marvell, if arguing of the nature of Gods and originall of the world, we scarcely reach to that which in our minde we comprehend; for it is meet we remember, that both I am a man, who am to argue, and you who are to judge, so as you seeke no further, if I speak but things likely. Aristotle ordinarily boardeth us up a number of other opinions, and other beleeves, that so he may compare his unto it, and make us see how farre he hath gone further, and how neere he comes unto true-likelihood; For truth is not judged by authoritie, nor by others testimony. And therefore did Epicurus religiously avoyd to alledge any in his compositions. He is the Prince of Dogmatists, and yet we learne of him, that, to know much, breedes an occasion to doubt more. He is often scene seriously to shelter himselfe under so inextricable obscuritie that his meaning cannot be perceived. In effect, it is a Pyrrhonisme under a resolving forme. Listen to Ciceroes protestation, who doth declare us others fantasies by his owne. *Qui requirunt, quid de quaque re ipsi sentiamus; curiosius id faciunt, quam necesse est. Hæc in Philosophia ratio, contra omnia disserendi nullamque rem aperte judicandi, profecta à Socrate, repetita ab Arcesila, confirmata à Carneade usque ad nostram viget atatem. Hi sumus, qui omnibus veris falsa quedam adjuncta esse dicamus, tanta similitudine, ut in iis nulla inest certe judicandi et assentiendi nota* (Cic. *Nat. Deo. i.*).

Increase
of know-
ledge
breeds
doubt

The dry
bones of
philosophy

They that would know what we conceit of every thing, use more curiosity than needs. This course in Philosophy to dispute against all things, to judge expressly of nothing, derived from Socrates, renewed by Arcesilas, confirmed by Carneades, is in force till our time; we are those that over some falsehood entermint with every truth, and that with such likenasse, as there is no set note in those things for any assuredly to give judgement or assent. Why hath not Aristotle alone, but the greatest number of Philosophers affected difficulty, unless it be to make the vanity of the subject to prevaile, and to amuse the curiosity of our minde, seeking to feed it, by gnawing so raw and bare a bone? Clytomachus affirmed, that he could never understand by the writings of Carneades, what opinion he was of. Why hath Epicurus interdicted facility unto his Sectaries? And wherefore hath Heraclitus beene surnamed σκοτεινός, a darke mysty clouded fellow? Difficulty is a coine, that wisemen make use of, as juglers doe with passe and repasse, because they will not display the vanity of their art, and wherewith humane foolishnesse is easily apaid.

*Clarus ob obscurum linguam, magis inter inanes.
Omnia enim stolidi magis admirantur amantque,
Inversis quæ sub verbis latitantia cernunt.*

—LUCR. l. 656.

For his darke speech much prais'd, but of th'
unwise;
For fooles doe all still more admire and prize,
That under words turn'd topsie-turvie lie.

Cicero reproveth some of his friends, because they were wont to bestow more time about Astrology, Law, Logike, and Geometry; than such Arts could deserve; and diverted them from the devoirs of their life, more profitable and more honest. The *Cyrenaike* Philosophers equally contemned naturall Philosophy and Logicke. *Zeno* in the beginning of his booke of the Common-wealth declared all the liberall Sciences to be unprofitable. *Chrysippus* said that which *Plato* and *Aristotle* had written of Logike, they had written the same in jest and for exercise sake; and could not beleieve that ever they spake in good earnest of so vaine and idle a subject. *Plutarke* saith the same of the Metaphysikes; *Epicurus* would have said it of Rethorike, of Grammar, of Poesie, of the Mathematikes, and (except naturall Philosophy) of all other sciences: And *Socrates* of all; but of the Art of civill manners and life: Whatsoever he was demanded of any man, he would ever first enquire of him, to give an accompt of his life, both present and past: which he would seriously examine and judge of: Deeming all other apprenticeships as subsequents and of supere rogation in regard of that. *Parum mihi placeant ea literæ quæ ad virtutem doctoribus nihil profuerunt.* That learning pleaseth me but a little which nothing profiteth the teachers of it unto vertue. Most of the Arts have thus beene contemned by knowledge it selfe: For they thought it not amiss to exercise their mindes in matters wherein was no profitable solidity. As for the rest, some have

Contempt
of divers
arts felt
by the
wise

The
ques-
tioning
Socrates

judged *Plato* a Dogmatist, others a Doubter, some a Dogmatist in one thing and some a Doubter, in another. *Socrates*, the fore-man of his Dialogues doth ever aske and propose his Disputation; yet never concluding, nor ever satisfying: and saith, he hath no other Science, but that of opposing. Their Author *Homer* hath equally grounded the foundations of all Sects of Philosophy, thereby to shew, how indifferent he was which way we went. Some say, that of *Plato* arose ten diverse Sects. And as I thinke, never was instruction wavering and nothing avouching, if his be not. *Socrates* was wont to say, that when Midwives begin once to put in practice the trad to make other women bring forth children, themselves become barren. That he by the title of wise, which the gods had conferred upon him, had also in his man-like and mentall love shaken off the faculty of begetting: Being well pleased to afford all helpe and favor to such as were engendrers; to open their nature, to supple their passages, to ease the issue of their child-bearing, to judge thereof, to baptise the same, to foster it, to strengthen it, to swathe it, and to circumcise it; exercising and handling his instrument at the perill and fortune of others. So is it with most Authors of this third kinde, as the ancients have well noted by the writings of *Anaxagoras*, *Democritus*, *Parmenides*, *Xenophanes*, and others. They have a manner of writing doubtfull both in substance and intent, rather enquiring than instructing: albeit here and there, they enterlace their stile

with dogmaticall cadences. And is not that as well seene in *Seneca*, and in *Plutarke*? How much doe they speake sometimes of one face, and sometimes of another, for such as looke neere unto it? Those who reconcile Lawyers, ought first to have reconciled them every one unto himselfe. *Plato* hath (in my seeming) loved this manner of Philosophying, Dialogue wise in good earnest, that thereby he might more decently place in sundry mouthes the diversity and variation of his owne conceits. *Diversity to treat of matters is as good and better as to treat them conformably*; that is to say, more copiously and more profitably. Let us take example by our selves. Definite sentences make the last period of dogmaticall and resolving speech: yet see we, that those which our Parlements present unto our people, as the most exemplare and fittest to nourish in them the reverence they owe unto this dignitie, especially by reason of the sufficiencie of those persons, which exercise the same, taking their glory, not by the conclusion, which to them is dayly, and is common to all judges as much as the debating of diverse, and agitations of contrary reasonings of law causes will admit. And the largest scope for reprehensions of some Philosophers against others, draweth contradictions and diversities with it, wherein every one of them findeth himselfe so entangled, either by intent to shew the wavering of mans minde above all matters, or ignorantly forced by the volubilitie and incomprehensiblenesse of all matters: What meaneth this burdon?

A suggestion
concerning
Plato's
Dialogues

Study *In a slippery and gliding place let us suspend our*
as a *believe, For as Euripides saith,*
luxury

Les œuvres de Dieu en diverses
Façons, nous donnent des traverses.

Gods *workes doe traverse our imaginations,*
And *crosse our workes in divers different*
fashions.

Like unto that which *Empedocles* was wont often to scatter amongst his bookes, as moved by a divine furie and forced by truth. No no, we feel nothing, we see nothing; all things are hid from us; There is not one, that we may establish, how and what it is: But returning to this holy word. *Cogitationes mortalium timide et incertæ ad inventiones nostræ, et providentiæ* (*Wisd. c. ix. 14*). *The thoughts of mortal men are feareful, our devices and foresights are uncertaine.* It must not be thought strange if men disparing of the goale have yet taken pleasure in the chase of it; studie being in it selfe a pleasing occupation, yea so pleasing, that amid sensualities, the Stoikes forbid also that which comes from the exercise of the minde, and require a bridle to it, and finde intemperance in over much knowledge. *Democritus* having at his table eaten some figges that tasted of hony, began presently in his minde to seeke out whence this unusuall sweetnes in them might proceed; and to be resolved, rose from the board, to view the place where those figges had beene gathered. His maide servant noting this alteration in her master, smilingly said unto him, that he should no more busie himselfe about it; the reason was, she had

laide them in a vessell where hony had beene; whereat he seemed to be wroth in that shee had deprived him of the occasion of his intended search, and robbed his curiositie of matter to worke upon. Away (quoth he) unto her, thou hast much offended mee; yet will I not omit to finde out the cause, as if it were naturally so. Who perhaps would not have missed to finde some likely or true reason, for a false and supposed effect. This storie of a famous and great Philosopher doth evidently represent unto us this studious passion, which so doth amuse us in pursuit of things, of whose obtaining wee despaire. *Plutarke* reporteth a like example of one who would not bee resolved of what he doubted, because hee would not lose the pleasure hee had in seeking it: As another, that would not have his Physitian remove the thirst he felt in his ague, because he would not lose the pleasure he tooke in quenching the same with drinking. *Satius est supervacua. discere, quam nihil* (SEN. *Epist.* 89 f.). *It is better to learne more than wee need, than nothing at all.* Even as in all feeding, pleasure is alwayes alone and single; and all we take that is pleasant is not ever nourishing and wholesome: So likewise, what our minde drawes from learning leaveth not to be voluptuous, although it neither nourish nor be wholesome. Note what their saying is: *The consideration of nature is a food proper for our mindes, it raiseth and puffeth us up, it makes us by the comparison of heavenly and high things to disdain base and low matters: the search of hidden and great causes is*

Pleasure
of enquiry
- 101
101
101
101
101

Know- very pleasant, yea unto him that attaines nought but
ledge the reverence and feare to judge of them, These
pur- are the very words of their profession. The
chased vaine image of this crazed curiositie is more
at the manifestly scene in this other example; which
cost of they for honour-sake have so often in their
life mouths. *Eudorus* wished, and praid to the
 Gods, that he might once view the Sunne neere
 at hand, to comprehend his forme, his greatnesse
 and his beautie; on condition he might immedi-
 ately be burnt and consumed by it. Thus with
 the price of his owne life would he attaine a
 Science, whereof both use and possession shall
 therewith be taken from him; and for so sudden
 and fleeting knowledge, lose and forgoe all the
 knowledges he either now hath, or ever hereafter
 may have. I can not easily be perswaded; that
Epicurus, *Plato*, or *Pythagoras* have sold us their
 Atomes, their Ideas, and their Numbers: for
 ready payment. They were over wise to estab-
 lish their articles of faith upon things so uncer-
 taine and disputable. But in this obscuritie and
 ignorance of the world, each of these notable
 men hath endeavoured to bring some kinde of
 shew or image of light; and have busied their
 mindes about inventions that might at least have
 a pleasing and wilie apparance, provided (not-
 withstanding it were false) it might be maintained
 against contrary oppositions: *Unicusque ista pro
 ingenio finguntur, non ex Scientia vi.* These
 things are conceited by every man as his wit serves,
 not as his knowledge stretches and reaches. An
 ancient Phylosopher being blamed for professing

that Philosophie, whereof, in his judgment hee **Plato's**
made no esteeme; answered, that that was true **Republic**
Philosophizing. They have gone about to consider all, to ballance all, and have found that it was an occupation fitting the naturall curiositie which is in us. Some things they have written for the behoofe of common societie, as their religions: And for this consideration was it reasonable, that they would not thoroughly unfold common opinions, that so they might not breed trouble in the obedience of lawes and customes of their countries. *Plato* treateth this mysterie in a very manifest kinde of sport. For, where he writeth according to himselfe, he prescribeth nothing for certaintie: When he institutes a Law giver, he borroweth a very swaying and avouching kinde of stile: Wherein he boldly entermingleth his most fantastickall opinions; as profitable to perswade the common sort, as ridiculous to perswade himselfe: Knowing how apt wee are to receive all impressions, and chiefly the most wicked and enormous. And therefore is he very carefull in his lawes that nothing bee sung in publike but Poesies; the fabulous fictions of which tend to some profitable end: being so apt to imprint all manner of illusion in mans minde, that it is injustice not to feed them rather with commodious lies, than with lies either unprofitable or damageable. He flatly saith in his Common-wealth, that for the benefit of men, it is often necessarie to deceive them. It is easie to distinguish, how some Sects have rather followed truth, and some profit; by which the

Limita- latter have gained credit. It is the miserie of
tions of our condition, that often what offers it selfe unto
philo- our imagination for the likeliest, presents not it
sophy selfe unto it for the most beneficiall unto our life.
 The boldest sects, both *Epicurian*, *Pirrhonian*
 and new *Academike*, when they have cast their
 acoumpt, are compelled to stoope to the civill
 law. There are other subjects, which they have
 tossed, some on the left and some on the right
 hand, each one labouring and striving to give it
 some semblance, were it right or wrong: For,
 having found nothing so secret, whereof they
 have not attempted to speake, they are many
 times forced to forge divers feeble and fond
 conjectures: Not that themselves tooke them
 for a ground-worke, nor to establish a truth,
 but for an exercise of their studie. *Non tam*
id sensisse, quod dicerent, quam exercere ingenia
materiæ difficultate videntur voluisse. They seeme
 not so much to have thought as they said, as rather
 willing to exercise their wits in the difficulty of the
 matter. And if it were not so taken, how should
 we cloke so great an inconstancie, varietie and
 vanity of opinions, which we see to have beene
 produced by these excellent and admirable spirits?
 As for example, *What greater vanitie can there*
be, than to goe about by our proportions and con-
jectures to guesse at God? And to governe both
him and the world according to our capacitie and
lawes? And to use this small scantlin of suffi-
 ciencie, which he hath pleased to impart unto
 our naturall condition, at the cost and charges
 of divinitie? And because we cannot extend

our sight so farre as his glorious throne, to have removed him downe to our corruption and miseries? Of all humane and ancient opinions concerning religion, I thinke that to have had more likelihood and excuse, which knowledged and confessed God to be an incomprehensible power, chiefe beginning and preserver of all things; all goodnes, all perfection; accepting in good part the honour and reverence which mortall men did yeeld him, under what usage, name and manner soever it was.

The Incomprehensible

*Jupiter omnipotens rerum, regumque, Deumque,
Progenitor, genitrixque.*

Almightie Jove, is parent said to be
Of things, of Kings, of Gods, both he and she.

This zeale hath universally beene regarded of heaven with a gentle and gracious eye. All Policies have reaped some fruit by their devotion: Men, and impious actions have every where had correspondent events. Heathen histories acknowledge dignitie, order, justice, prodigies, and oracles, employed for their benefit and instruction, in their fabulous religion: God of his mercy daining peradventure, to foster by his temporall blessings the budding and tender beginnings of such a brute knowledge, as naturall reason gave them of him, athwart the false images of their deluding dreames: Not only false, but impious and injurious are those, which man hath forged and devised by his owne invention. And of al religions Saint *Paul* found in credit at *Athens*, that which they had consecrated unto a certaine hidden and unknowne divinitie, seemed to be

Worth of most excusable, *Pythagoras* shadowed the truth
 Catholic somewhat neerer, judging that the knowledge
 symbols of this first cause and *Ens entium* must be undefined, without any prescription or declaration. That it was nothing else but the extreme indeavour of our imagination, toward perfection, every one amplifying the Idea thereof according to his capacitie. But if *Numa* undertooke to conforme the devotion of his people to this project, to joyne the same to a religion meerly mentall, without any prefixt object or materiall mixture, he undertooke a matter to no use. *Mans minde could never be maintained, if it were still floting up and downe in this infinite deepe of shapeles conceits.* They must be framed unto her to some image, according to her model. The majesty of God hath in some sort suffered it selfe to be circumscribed to corporall limits: *His supernaturall and celestiaall Sacraments beare signes of our terrestriall condition.* His adoration is exprest by offices and sensible words; for, it is man that beleeveth and praieth. I omit other arguments, that are emplyed about this subject. But I could hardly be made beleve, that the sight of our Crucifixes, and pictures of that pittiful torment, that the ornaments and ceremonious motions in our Churches, that the voyces accomodated and suted to our thoughts-devotions, and this stirring of our senses, doth not greatly inflame the peoples soules, with a religious passion of wondrous beneficiall good. Of those, to which they have given bodies, as necessity required amid this generall blindness; as for me, I

should rather have taken part with those who **Worship**
 worshipped the Sunne. **of the sun**

—la lumière commune,

*L'ail du monde : et si Dieu au chef porte des yeux,
 Les rayons du Soleil sont ses yeux radieux,
 Qui donnent vie à tous, nous maintenant et gardent,
 Et les faicts des humains en ce monde regardent :
 Ce beau, ce grand Soleil, qui nous fait les saisons,
 Selon qu'il entre ou sort de ses deux moyennes :
 Qui remplit l'univers de ses vertus cognues,
 Qui d'un traict de ses yeux nous dissipe les nues :
 L'esprit, l'ame du monde, ardent et flamboyant,
 En la cource d'un jour tout le Ciel tournoyant,
 Plein d'immenses grandeurs, rond, vagabond et ferme :
 Lequel tient dessous luy tout le monde pour terme,
 En repos sans repos, oysif, et sans sejour,
 Fils aîné de nature, et le pere du jour.*

The common light,

The worlds eye : and if God beare eyes in his cheefe
 head,

His most resplendent eyes, the Sunne-beames may be
 said,

Which unto all give life, which us maintaine and
 guard,

And in this world of men, the workes of men regard,
 This great, this beauteous Sunne, which us our
 seasons makes,

As in twelve houses he, ingresse or egresse takes ;
 Who with his Vertues knowne, doth fill this universe
 With one cast of his eyes doth us all cloudes disperse,
 The spirit, and the soule of this world, flaming,
 burning,

Round about heav'n in course of one dayes journey
 turning.

Of endlesse greatnesse full, round, moveable and fast :
 Who all the world for bounds beneath himselfe hath
 pla'st :

In rest, without rest, and still more staid, without
 stay,

Of Nature th' eldest Childe, and father of the day.

Divers
ideas of
philosophers

Forasmuch as besides this greatnesse and matchlesse beautie of his, it is the only glorious piece of this vaste-worlds-frame, which we perceive to be furthest from us : And by that meane so little known, as they are pardonable, that entered into admiration, and reverence of it. *Thales*, who was the first to enquire and finde out this matter, esteemed God to bee a spirit, who made all things of water. *Anaximander* thought the Gods did dy, and were new borne at divers seasons : and that the worlds were infinite in number. *Anaximenes* deemed the ayre to be a God, which was created immense, and alwaies moving. *Anaxagoras* was the first that held the description and manner of all things, to be directed by the power and reason of a spirit infinit. *Alcmaeon* hath ascribed Divinity unto the Sunne, unto the Moone, unto Stars, and unto the Soule. *Pythagoras* hath made God, a spirit dispersed through the Nature of all things, whence our soules are derived. *Parmenides*, a Circle circumpassing the heavens, and by the heat of light maintaining the world. *Empedocles* said, the foure Natures, whereof all things are made, to be Gods. *Protagoras*, that he had nothing to say, whether they were or were not, or what they were. *Democritus* would sometimes say, that the images and their circuitions were Gods, and othertimes this Nature, which disperseth these images ; and then our knowledge and intelligence. *Plato* scattereth his beliefe after diverse semblances. In his *Tymeus*, he saith, that the worlds-father could not be named.

In his Lawes, that his being must not be enquired after. And else-where in the said bookes, he maketh the world, the heaven, the starres, the earth and our soules, to be Gods; and besides, admitteth those that by ancient institutions have beene received in every Common-wealth. *Xenophon* reporteth a like difference of *Socrates* his discipline. Sometimes that Gods forme ought not to be inquired after; then he makes him infer, that the Sunne is a God, and the Soule a God: othertimes, that there is but one, and then more. *Speusippus* Nephew unto *Plato*, makes God to be a certaine power, governing all things, and having a soule. *Aristotle* saith sometimes, that it is the spirit, and sometimes the world; othertimes he appoynteth another ruler over this world, and sometimes he makes God to be the heat of heaven. *Xenocrates* makes eight; five named amongst the planets, the sixth composed of all the fixed starres, as of his owne members; the seaventh and eight, the Sunne and the Moone. *Heraclides Ponticus* doth but roame among his opinions, and in fine depriveth God of sense, and maks him remove and transchange himselfe from one form to another; and then saith, that is both heaven and earth. *Theophrastus* in all his fantazies wandereth still in like irresolutions, attributing the worlds superintendency now to the intelligence, now to the heaven, and now to the starres. *Strato*, that it is Nature having power to engender, to augment and to diminish, without forme or sense. *Zeno*, the naturall Lawe, commaunding the good, and prohibiting

concern-
ing God

Ancient definitions of God the evil; which Lawe is a breathing creature; and removeth the accustomed Gods, *Jupiter, Juno and Vesta*. *Diogenes Apolloniates*, that it is Age. *Xenophanes* makes God, round, seeing, hearing not breathing, and having nothing common with humane Nature. *Aristo* deemeth the forme of God to bee incomprehensible, and depriveth him of senses, and wotteth not certainly whether he bee a breathing soule or something else. *Cleanthes*, sometimes reason, othertimes the World, now the soule of Nature, and otherwhile the supreme heat, enfoulding and containing all. *Perseus Zeno's* disciple hath beene of opinion, that they were surnamed Gods, who had brought some notable good or benefit unto humane life, or had invented profitable things. *Chrysippus* made a confused huddle of all the foresaid sentences, and amongst a thousand formes of the Gods, which he faineth, hee also accompteth those men that are immortalized. *Diagoras* and *Theodorus*, flatly denyed, that there were anie Gods: *Epicurus* makes the Gods, bright-shining, transparent and perflable, placed as it were betweene two Forts, betweene two Worlds, safely sheltered from all blowes, invested with a humane shape, and with our members, which unto them are of no use.

*Ego Deum genus esse semper duxi, et dicam celitum,
Sed eos non curare opinor, quid agat humanum genus.*

—ENN., CICE. Div. ff.

I still thought and will say, of Gods there is a kinde;
But what our mankinde doth, I thinke they nothing
minde.

Trust to your Philosophie, beaſt to have hit the naile on the head; or to have found out the beane of this Cake, to ſee this coile and hurly-burly of ſo many Philoſophical wits. The trouble or confuſion of worldly ſhapes and formes hath gotten this of mee, that cuſtomes and conceits differing from mine, doe not ſo much diſlike me, as inſtruct me; and at what time I conferre or compare them together, they doe not ſo much puffe me up with pride, as humble me with lowlineſſe. And each other choyce, except that which commeth from the expreſſe hand of God, ſeemeth to me a choyce of ſmall prerogative or conſequence. The worlds policies are no leſſe contrary one to another in this ſubject, than the ſchools: Wherby we may learne, that Fortune herſelf is no more divers, changing and variable, than our reaſon, nor more blinde and inconsiderat. Things moſt unknowne are fitteſt to bee deified. Wherefore, to make gods of our ſelves (as antiquitie hath done,) it exceeds the extreme weakneſſe of diſcourſe. I would rather have folowed thoſe that worſhipped the Serpent, the Dogge and the Oxe, forſomuch as their Nature, and being is leaſt knowne to us; and we may more lawfully imagine what we liſt of thoſe beaſts and aſcribe extraordinarie faculties unto them. But to have made Gods of our condition, whoſe imperfections we ſhould know, and to have attributed deſire, choler, revenge, marriages, generation, alliances, love and jealousie, our limbes and our bones, our infirmities, our plea-

Religious
concep-
tions of
reaſon
unreliable

God sures, our deathes, and our Sepulchres unto them,
 in the hath of necessity proceeded from a meere and
 likeness egregious sottishnesse, or drunkennesse of mans
 of men wit.

*Quæ procul usque adeo divino ab numine distant.
 Inque Deum numero quæ sint indigna videri.*

—LUCR. v. 123.

Which from Divinity so distant are,
 To stand in ranke of Gods unworthy farre.

*Formæ, ætates, vestitus, ornatus noti sunt :
 genera, conjugia, cognationes, omniaque traducta
 ad similitudinem imbecillitatis humanæ : nam et per-
 turbatis animis inducuntur, accipimus enim Deo-
 rum cupiditates, ægritudines, iracundias. Their
 shapes, their ages, their apparrell, their furnitures
 are knowen ; their kindes, their marriages, their
 kindred, and all translated to the likenesse of mans
 weaknesse : For they are also brought in with
 mindes much troubled : for we reade of the lust-
 fulnesse, the grievings, the angrinessc of the Gods.
 As to have ascribed Divinity, not only unto
 faith, vertue, honour, concord, liberty, victory
 and piety ; but also unto voluptuousnesse, fraud,
 death, envy, age and misery ; yea unto feare,
 unto ague, and unto evill fortune, and such other
 injuries and wrongs to our fraile and transitory
 life.*

*Quid juvat hoc, templis nostros inducere mores ?
 O curvæ in terris animæ et caelestium inanes !*

—PERS. Sat. ii. 62, 61.

What boots it, into Temples to bring manners of
 our kindes ?

O crooked soules on earth, and void of heavenly
 mindes.

The Ægyptians with an impudent wisdom **Human**
 forbad upon paine of hanging, that no man **gods**
 should dare to say, that *Serapis* and *Isis* their
 Gods, had whilome beene but men, when all
 knew they had beene so. And their images
 or pictures drawne with a finger a crosse their
 mouthes imported (as *Varro* saith) this mis-
 terious rule unto their priests, to conceale their
 mortall off-spring, which by a necessary reason
 disanulled all their veneration. Since man de-
 sired so much to equall himselfe to God, it had
 beene better for him (saith *Cicero*,) to draw
 those divine conditions unto himselfe, and bring
 them downe to earth, than to send his corrup-
 tion, and place his misery above in heaven: but
 to take him aright, he hath divers wayes, and
 with like vanitie of opinion, done both the one
 and other. When Philosophers blazon and dis-
 play the Hierarchy of their gods, and to the
 utmost of their skill endeavour to distinguish their
 aliances, their charges, and their powers. I can-
 not beleewe they speake in good earnest when
Plato decyphreth unto us the orchard of *Pluto*,
 and the commodities or corporall paines, which
 even after the ruine and consumption of our
 body, waite for us, and applyeth them to the
 apprehension or feeling we have in this life.

*Secreti celant colles, et myrtia circum
 Sylva tegit, cura non ipsa in morte relinquunt.*

—VIRG. *Æn.* vi. 443.

Them paths aside conceale, a mirtle grove
 Shades them round; cares in death doe not remove.

When *Mabomet* promiseth unto his followers

Worldly ideas of immortality a paradise all tapistred, adorned with gold and precious stones, peopled with exceeding beauteous damels, stored with wines and singular cates. I well perceive they are but scoffers, which sute and apply themselves unto our foolishnesse, thereby to enhonny and allure us to these opinions and hopes fitting our mortall appetite. Even so are some of our men falne into like errours by promising unto themselves after their resurrection a terrestriall and temporall life, accompanied with al sorts of pleasures and worldly commodities. Shall we thinke that *Plato*, who had so heavenly conceptions, and was so well acquainted with Divinity, as of most he purchased the surname of Divine, was ever of opinion, that man (this seely and wretched creature man) had any one thing in him, which might in any sort be applied, and suted to this incomprehensible and unspeakable power? or ever imagined, that our languishing hold-fasts were capable, or the vertue of our understanding of force, to participate or be partakers, either of the blessednesse, or eternall punishment? He ought in the behalfe of humane reason be answered: If the pleasures, thou promisest us in the other life, are such as I have felt here below, they have nothing in them common with infinity. If all my five naturall senses were even surcharged with joy and gladnesse, and my soule possessed with all the contents and delights, it could possibly desire or hope for (and we know what it either can wish or hope for) yet were [it] nothing. If there bee any thing that is mine, then is there nothing that is

Divine; if it be nothing else, but what may appertaine unto this our present condition, it may not be accounted of. *All mortall mens contentment is mortall.* The acknowledging of our parents, of our children and of our friends, if it cannot touch, move or tickle us in the other world, if we still take hold of such a pleasure, we continue in Terrestrial and transitorie commodities. We can not worthily conceive of these high, mysterious, and divine promises; if wee can but in any sort conceive them, and so imagine them aright; they must be thought to be unimaginable, unspeakeable and incomprehensible, and absolutely and perfectly other than those of our miserable experience. No eye can behold, (saith Saint Paul) *The hap that God prepareth for his elect, nor can it possibly enter the heart of man* (1 Cor. ii. 9). And if to make us capable of it (as thou saith Plato by thy purifications) our being is reformed and essence changed, it must be by so extreme and universall a change, that according to Philosophicall doctrine, we shall be no more our selves:

Hector erat tunc cum bello certabat, at ille

Tractus ab Eneide non erat Hector equo.

—OVID. *Trist.* iii. *El.* xi. 27.

Hector he was, when he in fight us'd force;
Hector he was not, drawne by th' enemies horse.

it shall be some other thing, that shall receive these recompences.

'The
Flower
that once
has blown
for ever
dies'

—*quod mutatur, dissolvitur, interit ergo:
Trajiciuntur enim partes atque ordine migrant.*

—LUCR. iii. 781.

What is chang'd, is dissolved, therefore dies :
Translated parts in order fall and rise.

For, in the *Metempsychosis*, or transmigration of soules of *Pythagoras*, and the change of habitation, which he imagined the soules to make; shall we thinke that the Lion in whom abideth the soule of *Cesar*, doth wed the passions which concerned *Cesar*, or that it is hee? And if it were hee, those had some reason, who debating this opinion against *Plato*, object that the sonne might one day bee found committing with his mother under the shape of a Mules body, and such like absurdities. And shall wee imagine, that in the transmigrations which are made from the bodies of some creatures into others of the same kind, the new succeeding-ones are not other, than their predecessors were? Of a Phenix cinders, first (as they say) is engendred a worme and then another Phenix: who can imagine that this second Phenix be no other and different from the first? Our Silk-wormes are seene to dye and then to wither drie, and of that body breedeth a Butter-flie, and of that a worme, were it not ridiculous to thinke, the same to be the first Silke-worm? what hath once lost his being, is no more.

*Nec si materiam nostram collegerit ætas
Post obitum, rursumque redegerit, ut sita nunc est
Atque iterum nobis fuerint data lumina vite,
Pertineat quidquam tamen ad nos id quoque factum,
Interrupta semel cum sit repotentia nostra.*—*Ib.* 890.

If time should recollect, when life is past,
Our stuffe, and it replace, as now tis plac't,
And light of life were granted us againe,
Yet nothing would that deed to us pertaine,
When interrupted were our turne againe.

Union of
soul and
body

And *Plato*, when in another place thou saist,
that it shall be the spirituall part of man that
shall enjoy the recompences of the other life,
thou tellest of things of as small likely-hood.

*Scilicet avulsis radicibus ut nequit ullam
Displicere ipse oculus rem seorsum corpore toto.*

—*Ib.* 580.

Ev'n as no eye, by th' root's pull'd-out can see
Ought in whole body severall to bee.

For, by this reckoning, it shall no longer be
man, nor consequently us, to whom this enjoy-
ing shall appertain; for we are built of two
principall essentiall parts, the separation of which,
is the death and consummation of our being.

*Inter enim jacta est vitæ causa vageque
Deerrarunt passim motus ab sensibus omnes.*—*Ib.* 903.

A pause of life is interpos'd; from sense
All motions straid are, far wandring thence.

we doe not say, that man suffereth, when the
wormes gnaw his body and limbs whereby he
lived, and that the earth consumeth them.

*Et nihil hoc ad nos, qui coitu conjugioque
Corporis atque anima consistimus uniter apti.*—*Ibid.* 888.

This nought concern's us, who consist of union,
Of minde and body joyn'd in meet communion.

Moreover, upon what ground of their justice,

Danger
of by-
paths

can the Gods reward man and be thankfull unto him after his death, for his good and vertuous actions, since themselves addressed and bred them in him? And wherefore are they offended, and revenge his vicious deeds, when themselves have created him with so defective a condition, and that but with one twinkling of their will, they may hinder him from sinning? Might not *Epicurus* with some shew of humane reason object that unto *Plato*, if he did not often shrowd himselfe under this sentence; That it is impossible by mortall nature to establish any certainty of the immortall. Shee is ever straying, but especially when she medleth with divine matters. Who feeles it more evidently than we? For, although we have ascribed unto her assured and infallible principles, albeit wee enlighten her steps with the holy lampe of that truth, which God hath beene pleased to impart unto us, we notwithstanding see daily, how little soever she stray from the ordinary path, and that she start or stragle out of the way, traced and measured out by the Church, how soone she loseth, entangleth and confoundeth her selfe; turning, tossing and floating up and downe, in this vast, troublesome and tempestuous sea of mans opinions, without restraint or scope. So soone as she loseth this high and common way, shee divideth and scattereth her selfe a thousand diverse wayes. Man can be no other than he is, nor imagine but according to his capacity: It is greater presumption (saith *Plutarch*) in them that are but men, to attempt to reason

and discourse of Gods, and of demi-Gods, than ^{Gods} in a man meerly ignorant of musicke, to judge ^{with} of those that sing; or for a man, that was never ^{human} in warres, to dispute of Armes and warre, pre- ^{attributes} suming by some light conjecture, to comprehend the effects of an art altogether beyond his skill. As I thinke, Antiquity imagined it did something for divine Majesty, when shee compared the same unto man, attiring her with his faculties, and enriching her with his strange humours, and most shamefull necessities: offering her some of our cates to feed upon, and some of our dances, mummeries, and enterludes to make her merry, with our clothes to apparrell her; and our houses to lodge her, cherishing her with the sweet odors of incense, and sounds of musicke, adorning her with garlands and flowers, and to draw her to our vicious passion, to flatter her justice with an inhumane revenge, gladding her with the ruine and dissipation of things created and preserved by her. As *Tiberius Sempronius*, who for a sacrifice to *Vulcan*, caused the rich spoiles and armes, which he had gotten of his enemies in *Sardinia*, to be burned: And *Paulus Emilius*, those he had obtained in *Macedonia*, to *Mars* and *Minerva*. And *Alexander* comming to the Ocean of *India*, cast in favour of *Thetis* many great rich vessels of gold into the Sea, replenishing moreover her Altars with a butcherly slaughter, not onely of innocent beasts, but of men, as diverse Nations, and amongst the rest, ours were wont to doe. And I thinke none hath beene exempted from shewing the like Essayes.

**Blood-
thirsty
sacrifices**

—*Sulmo creatus*

*Quatuor hic juvenes, totidem, quos educat Ufens,
Viventes rapit, inferias quos immolet umbris.*

—VIRG. *Æn.* x. 517.

Four young-men borne of *Sulmo*, and four more
Whom *Ufens* bred, he living over-bore,
Whom he to his dead friend
A sacrifice might send.

The *Getes* deeme themselves immortall, and their death but the beginning of a journey to their God *Zamolxis*. From five to five yeares, they dispatch some one among themselves toward him, to require him of necessarie things. This deputy of theirs is chosen by lots; And the manner to dispatch him, after they have by word of mouth instructed him of his charge, is that amongst those which assist his election, three hold so many javelins upright, upon which the others by meere strength of armes, throw him; if he chance to sticke upon them in any mortall place, and that he dye suddenly, it is to them an assured argument of divine favour; but if he escape, they deeme him a wicked and execrable man, and then chuse another. *Amestris* mother unto *Xerxes*, being become aged, caused at one time 14. young striplings of the noblest houses of *Persia* (following the religion of her cuntry) to be buried all alive, thereby to gratifie some God of under earth. Even at this day the Idols of *Temixitan* are cimented with the blood of young children, and love no sacrifice but of such infant and pure soules: Oh justice greedy of the blood of innocencie.

Tantum religio potuit suadere malorum.

—LUCR. i. 102.

Religion so much mischeefe could
Perswade, where it much better should.

The
boys of
Diana's
altar

The Carthaginians were wont to sacrifice their owne children unto *Saturne*, and who had none, was faine to buy some: and their fathers and mothers were enforced in their proper persons, with cheerefull and pleasant countenance to assist that office. It was a strange conceit, with our owne affliction to goe about to please and appay divine goodnesse. As the Lacedemonians, who flattered and wantonized their *Diana*, by torturing of yong boyes, whom often in favour of her they caused to be whipped to death. It was a savage kinde of humor, to thinke to gratifie the Architect with the subversion of his architecture: and to cancel the punishment due unto the guiltie, by punishing the guiltles, and to imagine that poore *Iphigenia*, in the port of *Aulis*, should by her death and sacrifice discharge and expiate, towards God, the Grecians armie of the offences, which they had committed.

Et casta incestu nubendi tempore in ipso

Hostia consideret mactatu mæsta parentis.—*Ibid.* 99.

She, a chaste offering, griev'd incestuously
By fathers stroke, when she should wed, to dye.

And those two noble and generous soules of the *Decii*, father and sonne, to reconcile, and appease the favour of the Gods, towards the Romanes affaires, should headlong cast their bodies athwart the thickest throng of their

Vicarious enemies. *Que fuit tanta Deorum iniquitas, ut offerings placari populo Romano non possint, nisi tales viri to the occidissent? What injustice of the Gods was so gods great, as they could not be appeased, unlesse such men perished?* Considering that it lies not in the offender to cause himselfe to be whipped, how and when he list, but in the judge, who accompteth nothing a right punishment, except the torture he appointeth; and cannot impute that unto punishment, which is in the free choice of him that suffereth. The divine vengeance presupposeth our full dissent, for his justice and our paine. And ridiculous was that humor of *Polycrates*, the Tyrant of *Samos*, who to interrupt the course of his continuall happinesse, and to recompence it, cast the richest and most precious jewell he had into the Sea, deeming that by this purposed mishap he should satisfie the revolution and vicissitude of fortune; which to deride his folly, caused the very same jewel, being found in a fishes-belly, to returne to his hands againe. And to what purpose are the manglings and dismembrings of the *Corybantes*, of the *Menades*, and now a dayes of the Mahumetans, who skar, and gash their faces, their stomacke and their limbes, to gratifie their prophet: seeing the offence consisteth in the will, not in the breast, nor eyes, nor in the genitories, health, shoulders, or throat? *Tantus est perturbata mentis et sedibus suis pulsa furor, ut sic Dii placeant, quemadmodum ac homines quidam sentiunt* (Aug. *Civ. Dei*, vi. c. 10). So great is the fury of a troubled minde put from the state

it should be in, as the Gods must be so pacified, as even men would not be so outrageous. This naturall contexture doth by her use not only respect us, but also the service of God, and other mens: it is injustice to make it miscarie at our pleasure; as under what pretence soever it be to kill our selves. It seemeth to be a great cowardise and manifest treason, to abuse the stupide and corrupt the servile functions of the body, to spare the diligence unto the soule how to direct them according unto reason. *Ubi iratos Deos timent, qui sic propitios habere merentur. In regia libidinis voluptatem castrati sunt quidam; sed nemo sibi, ne vir esset, jubente Domino, manus intulit (Ibid. e Senec.).* Where are they afeard of Gods anger; who in such sort deserve to have his favour; some have beene gueldd for Princes lustfull pleasures: but no man at the Lords command, hath laid hands on himselfe, to be lesse than a man. Thus did they replenish their religion and staffe it with divers bad effects.

Crimes committed in the name of religion

—*capius olim*

Religio peperit scelerosa atque impia facta.

—*Lucr. l. 53.*

Religion hath oft times in former times
Bred execrable facts, ungodly crimes.

Now can nothing of ours, in what manner soever, be either compared or referred unto divine nature; that doth not blamish or defile the same with as much imperfection. How can this infinit beauty, power and goodnes admit any correspondencie or similitude with a thing

Our knowledge is so base and abject as we are, without extreme interest and manifest derogation from his divine greatness? *Infirmum Dei fortius est hominibus; et stultum Dei sapientius est hominibus* (1 Cor. i. 25). The weaknesse of God is stronger than men: and the foolishnesse of God is wiser than men. *Stilpo* the Philosopher, being demanded, whether the Gods rejoyce at our honours and sacrifices; you are indiscreet (said he) let us withdraw our selves apart, if you speake of such matters. Notwithstanding we prescribe him limits, we lay continuall siege unto his power by our reasons. (I call our dreames and our vanities reason, with the dispensation of Philosophy, which saith, that both the foole and the wicked doe rave and dote by reason; but that it is a reason of severall and particular forme) we will subject him to the vaine and weake apperances of our understanding: him who hath made both us and our knowledge. Because nothing is made of nothing: God was not able to frame the world without matter. What? hath God delivered into our hands the keyes, and the strongest wards of his infinit puissance? Hath he obliged himselfe not to exceed the bounds of our knowledge? Suppose, oh man, that herein thou hast beene able to marke some signes of his effects: Thinkest thou, he hath therein employed all he was able to doe, and that he hath placed all his formes and *Ideas*, in this peece of worke? Thou seest but the order and policie of this little little Cell wherein thou art placed: The question is, whether

thou seest it : His divinity hath an infinit jurisdiction far beyond that : This peece is nothing in respect of the whole. municipal, not universal

—*omnia cum caelo terraque marique,
Nil sunt ad summam summam totius omnem.*

—Lucr. vi. 675.

All things that are, with heav'n, with Sea, and land,
To th' whole summe of th' whole summe, as nothing stand.

This law thou aleagest is but a municipall law, and thou knowest not what the universall is : Tie thy selfe unto that, whereto thou are subject, but tie not him ; he is neither thy companion, nor thy brother, nor thy fellow Citizen, nor thy copesmate. If he in any sort have communicated himselfe unto thee, it is not to debase himselfe, or stoope to thy smalnesse, nor to give thee the controulment of his power. Mans body cannot square up unto the clouds, this is for thee. The Sunne uncessantly goeth his ordinary course : The bounds of the Seas and of the earth cannot be confounded : The water is ever fleeting, wavering, and without firmenesse : A wall without breach or flaw, impenetrable unto a solid body : Man cannot preserve his life amidst the flames, he cannot corporally be both in heaven and on earth, and in a thousand places together and at once. It is for thee that he hath made these rules ; it is thou they take hold off. He hath testified unto Christians, that when ever it pleased him

Plurality of worlds he hath out gone them all. And in truth, omnipotent as he is, wherefore should he have restrained his forces unto a limited measure? In favour of whom should he have renounced his privilege? Thy reason hath in no one other thing more likely-hood and foundation, than in that which perswadeth thee a plurality of worlds.

*Terramque et solem, lunam, mare, cætera quæ sunt,
Non esse unica, sed numero magis innumerabili.*

—*Ib.* ii. 1094.

The earth, the Sunne, the Moone, the sea and all
In number numberlesse, not one they call.

The famoussest wits of former ages have beleeyed it, yea and some of our moderne, as forced thereunto by the apparence of humane reason. For as much as whatsoever we see in this vast worlds frame, there is no one thing alone, single and one :

—*cum in summa res nulla sit una,
Unica qua signatur, et unica relique crescant* :—*Ib.* 1086.

Whereas in generall summe, nothing is one;
To be bred only one, grow only one.

and that all severall kindes are multiplied in some number : Whereby it seemeth unlikely, that God hath framed this peece of worke alone without a fellow ; and that the matter of this forme hath wholly beene spent in this only *Individuum* ;

*Quare etiam atque etiam tales fatære necesse est,
Esse alios alibi congressus materiai,*

Qualis hic est avido complexu quem tenet Æther.—*Ib.* 1073.

Wherefore you must confesse, againe againe,
Of matter such like meetings elsewhere raigne
As this, these skies in greedy gripe containe.

infinite
diversity
in this
world

Namely, if it be a breathing creature, as it's motions make it so likely, that *Plato* assureth it, and divers of ours either affirme it, or dare not impugne it; no more than this old opinion, that the Heaven, the Starres, and other members of the World, are creatures composed both of body and soule; mortall in respect of their composition, but immortall by the Creators decree. Now, if there be divers worlds, as *Democritus*, *Epicurus*, and well neere all Philosophy hath thought; what know wee, whether the principles and the rules of this one concerne or touch likewise the others? Haply they have another semblance and another policie. *Epicurus* imagineth them either like or unlike. We see an infinite difference and varietie in this world, only by the distance of places. There is neither Corne, nor Wine; no nor any of our beasts scene in that new Corner of the World, which our fathers have lately discovered: All things differ from ours. And in the old time, marke but in how many parts of the world, they had never knowledge nor of *Bacchus* nor of *Ceres*. If any credit may be given unto *Plinie* or to *Herodotus*, there is in some places a kinde of men that have very little or no resemblance at all with ours. And there be mungrell and ambiguous shapes, betweene a humane and brutish Nature. Some Countries there are, where men are borne headlesse, with

We call things miraculous by ignorance eyes and mouthes in their breasts; where all are Hermaphrodites; where they creep on all foure; Where they have but one eye in their forehead, and heads more like unto a dog than ours: Where from the Navill downewards they are halfe fish, and live in the water; Where women are brought a bed at five yeares of age, and live but eight; Where their heads and the skin of their browes are so hard, that no yron can pierce them, but will rather turne edge; Where men never have beards. Other Nations there are, that never have use of fire; Others, whose sperme is of a blacke colour. What shall we speake of them, who naturally change themselves into Woolves, into Coultz, and then into Men againe? And if it bee (as *Plutark* saith) that in some part of the Indiaes, there are men without mouthes, and who live only by the smell of certaine sweet odours; how many of our descriptions be then false? Hee is no more risible; nor perhaps capable of reason and societie: The direction and cause of our inward frame, should for the most part be to no purpose. Moreover, how many things are there in our knowledge, that oppugne these goodly rules, which we have allotted and prescribed unto Nature? And we undertake to joyn God himselfe unto her. How many things doe we name miraculous and against Nature? Each man and every Nation doth it according to the measure of his ignorance. How many hidden proprieties and quintessences doe we daily discover? For us to goe according to

Nature, is but to follow according to our understanding, as far as it can follow, and asmuch as we can perceive in it. Whatsoever is beyond it, is monstrous and disordred. By this accompt all shall then be monstrous, to the wisest and most sufficient; for even to such, humane reason hath perswaded, that she had neither ground nor footing, no not so much as to warrant snow to be white: And *Anaxagoras* said, it was blacke; Whether there be any thing or nothing; Whether there be knowledge or ignorance; Which *Metrodorus Chius* denied, that any man might say. Or whether we live, as *Euripides* seemeth to doubt, and call in question, whether the life we live be a life or no, or whether that which we call death be a life:

Is life,
life? or
death,
death?

Τίς δ' οἶδεν εἰ ζῆν τοῦθ' ὁ κέκληται θανεῖν,
Τὸ ζῆν δὲ θνήσκειν ἐστὶ;—PLAT. *Gorg.* ex *Eurip.*

Who knowes if thus to live, be called death,
And if it be to dye, thus to draw breath?

And not without apparence. For, wherefore doe we from that instant take a title of being, which is but a twinckling in the infinit course of an eternall night, and so short an interruption of our perpetuall and naturall condition? Death possessing what ever is before and behind this moment, and also a good part of this moment. Some others affirme, there is no motion, and that nothing stirreth; namely, those which follow *Melissus*. For if there be but one, neither can this sphericall motion serve him, nor the moving from one place to another,

Irre- as *Plato* proveth, that there is neither generation
 verence nor corruption in nature: *Protagoras* saith, there
 of limit- is nothing in Nature, but doubt: That a man
 ing God's may equally dispute of all things: and of that
 power also, whether all things may equally be disputed
 of: *Mansiphanas* said, that of things which
 seeme to be, no one thing, is no more, than it
 is not: That nothing is certaine, but uncertainty.
Parmenides, that of that which seemeth, there is
 no one thing in Generall. That there is but
 one *Zeno*, that one selfe same is not: And that
 there is nothing. If one were, he should either
 be in another, or in himselfe: if he be in
 another, then are they two: If he be in him-
 selfe, they are also two, the comprizing and the
 comprized. According to these rules or doc-
 trines, the Nature of things is but a false or
 vaine shadow. I have ever thought, this manner
 of speech in a Christian, is full of indiscretion
 and irreverence; God cannot dye, God cannot
 gaine-say himselfe, God cannot doe this or
 that. I cannot allow a man should so bound
 Gods heavenly power under the Lawes of our
 word: And that apparence, which in these
 propositions offers it selfe unto us, ought to be
 represented more reverently and more religiously.
 Our speech hath his infirmities and defects, as
 all things else have. Most of the occasions of
 this worlds troubles are Grammaticall. Our
 suits and processes proceed but from the can-
 vassing and debating the interpretation of the
 Lawes, and most of our warres, from the want
 of knowledge in State-counsellors, that could

not cleerely distinguish and fully expresse the ^{Que} Covenants, and Conditions of accords betweene ^{say-ic?} Prince and Prince. How many weighty strifes, and important quarels, hath the doubt of this one sillable, *hoc*, brought forth in the world? examine the plainest sentence that Logike it selfe can present unto us. If you say, it is faire weather, and in so saying, say true; it is faire weather then. Is not this a certaine forme of speech? Yet will it deceive us: That it is so; Let us follow the example: If you say, I lye, and that you should say true, you lye then. The Art, the reason, the force of the conclusion of this last, are like unto the other; notwithstanding we are entangled. I see the Pyrhonian Phylosophers, who can by no manner of speech expresse their Generall conceit: for, they had need of a new language. Ours is altogether composed of affirmative propositions, which are directly against them. So that, when they say I doubt, you have them fast by the throat to make them avow, that at least you are assured and know, that they doubt. So have they bene compelled to save themselves by this comparison of Physicke, without which their conceit would be inexplicable and intricate. When they pronounce, I know not, or I doubt, they say, that this proposition transportes it selfe together with the rest, even as the *Rexharbe* doeth, which scowred ill humours away, and therewith is carried away himselfe. This conceit is more certainly conceived by an interrogation: What can I tell? As I beare it in

Irre- an Imprese of a paire of ballances. Note how
verence some prevaile with this kinde of unreverent and
of speech unhallowed speech. In the disputations that
 are now-adayes in our religion, if you overmuch
 urge the adversaries, they will roundly tell you,
 that it lieth not in the power of God to make
 his body at once to be in Paradise, and on earth,
 and in many other places together. And how
 that ancient skoffer made profitable use of it.
 At least (saith he) it is no small comfort unto
 man, to see that God cannot doe all things; for
 he cannot kill himselfe if he would, which is
 the greatest benefit we have in our condition;
 he cannot make mortall men immortall, nor
 raise the dead to life againe, nor make him that
 hath lived, never to have lived, and him, who
 hath had honours, not to have had them, having
 no other right over what is past, but of forgetful-
 nesse. And that this society betweene God
 and Man, may also be combined with some
 pleasant examples, he cannot make twice ten
 not to be twenty. See what he saith, and
 which a Christian ought to abhor, that ever
 such and so profane words should passe his
 mouth: Whereas on the contrary part, it
 seemeth that fond men endeavour to finde out
 this foolish-boldnesse of speech, that so they
 may turne and winde God almighty according
 to their measure.

—*cras vel atra*

*Nube polum pater occupato,
 Vel sole puro, non tamen irritum
 Quodcumque retro est efficiet, neque*

*Diffinget infectumque reddet
Quod fugiens semel hora vexit.*

—HOR. *Car. iii. Od. xxix. 43.*

Vanity of
attempt-
ing to
find out
God

To morrow let our father fill the skie,
With darke cloud, or with cleare Sunne, he thereby
Shall not 'make voyd what once is overpast :
Nor shall he undoe, or in new mold cast,
What time hath once caught ; that flies hence so
fast.

When we say, that the infinitie of ages, as well past as to come, is but one instant with God ; that his wisdom, goodnesse and power, are one selfe-same thing with his essence ; our tongue speakes it, but our understanding can no whit apprehend it. Yet will our selfe overweening sift his divinitie through our searce : whence are engendred all the vanities and errours wherewith the world is so full-fraught, reducing and weighing with his uncertaine balance, a thing so farre from his reach, and so distant from his weight. *Mirum quo procedat improbitas cordis humani, parvulo aliquo invitata successu* (PLIN. *Nat. Hist. ii. c. 23*). It is a wonder, whither the perverse wickednesse of mans heart will proceed, if it be but called-on with any little successe. How insolently doe the Stoikes charge *Epicurus*, because he holds, that to be perfectly good and absolutely happy, belongs but only unto God ; and that the wiseman hath but a shadow and similitude thereof ? How rashly have they joyned God unto destiny ? (Which at my request, let none that beareth the surname of a Christian, doe at this day) And *Thales, Plato,*

The
infinitely
great
and the
infinitely
little

and *Pythagoras* have subjected him unto necessity. This over-boldnesse, or rather bold-fiercenesse, to seeke to discover God, by and with our eyes, hath beene the cause, that a notable man of our times hath attributed a corporall forme unto divinitie, and is the cause of that which daily hapneth unto us, which is, by a particular assignation, to impute all important events to God: which because they touch us, it seemeth they also touch him, and that he regardeth them with more care and attention, than those that are but slight and ordinary unto us. *Magna dii curant, parva negligunt* (Cic. Nat. Deor. ii.). *The Gods take some care for great things, but none for little.* Note his example; he will enlighten you with his reason. *Nec in regnis quidem reges omnia minima curant* (Cic. Ib. iii.). *Nor doe Kings in their Kingdomes much care for the least matters.* As if it were all one to that King, either to remove an Empire, or a leafe of a tree: and if his providence were otherwise exercised, inclining or regarding no more the successe of a battell, than the skip of a flea. The hand of his government affords it selfe to all things after a like tenure, fashion and order; our interest addeth nothing unto it: our motions and our measures concerne him nothing and move him no whit. *Deus ita artifex magnus in magnis, ut minor non sit in parvis.* *God is so great a workeman in great things, as he is no lesse in small things.* Our arrogancie, setteth ever before us this blasphemous equality; because our occupations charge us. [Strato] hath presented

the Gods with all immunitie of offices, as are their Priests. He maketh nature to produce and preserve all things, and by her weights and motions to compact all parts of the world, discharging humane nature from the feare of divine judgements. *Quod beatum eternumque sit, id nec habere, negotii quicquam, nec exhibere alteri* (Cic. *Ib. i.*). That which is blessed and eternall, nor is troubled it selfe, nor troubleth others. Nature willeth that in all things alike, there be also like relation. Then the infinite number of mortall men, concludeth a like number of immortall: The infinite things that kill and destroy, presuppose as many that preserve and profit. As the soules of the Gods, sanse tongues, sanse eyes, and sanse eares, have each one in themselves a feeling of that which the other feel, and judge of our thoughts; so mens soules, when they are free and severed from the body, either by sleepe or any distraction; divine, prognosticate and see things, which being conjoynd to their bodies, they could not see. Men (saith Saint Paul) when they professed themselves to bee wise, they became fooles, for they turned the glory of the incorruptible God to the similitude of the image of a corruptible man (*Rom. i. 22, 23*). Marke I pray you a little the jugling of ancient Deifications. After the great, solemne and prowd pompe of funerals, when the fire began to burne the top of the Piramide: and to take hold of the bed or hearce wherein the dead corps lay, even at that instant, they let fly an Eagle, which taking her flight aloft upward, signified

Ancient
deifica-
tions

**Worship
of the
Emperors** that the soule went directly to Paradise. We have yet a thousand medailes and monuments, namely, of that honest woman *Faustina*, wherein that Eagle is represented, carrying a cocke-horse up towards heaven those Deified soules. It is pity we should so deceive our selves with our owne foolish devises and apish inventions,

Quod finxere timent.—LUCAN. l. 484.

Of that they stand in feare,
Which they in fancie beare.

as children will be afeard of their fellowes visage, which themselves have besmeared and blackt. *Quasi quicquam infelicius sit homine, cui sua figmenta dominantur.* As though any thing were more wretched than man over whom his owne imaginations beare sway and domineere. To honour him whom we have made, is farre from honouring him that hath made us. *Augustus* had as many Temples as *Jupiter*, and served with as much religion and opinion of miracles. The Thracians, in requitall of the benefits they had received of *Agésilas*, came to tell him how they had canonized him. Hath your Nation (said he) the power to make those whom it pleaseth, Gods: Then first (for example sake) make one of your selves, and when I shall have seene what good he shall have thereby, I will then thanke you for your offer. Oh sencelesse man, who cannot possibly make a worme, and yet will make Gods by dozens. Listen to *Trismegistus* when he praiseth our sufficiencie: For man to finde out divine nature, and to make

it, hath surmounted the admiration of all admirable things. Loe here arguments out of Philosophies schooles it selfe. Quibbles
of philo-
sophy

*Nosse cui Divos et cali numina soli,
Aut soli nescire datum.*—LUCAN. i. 452.

Only to whom heav'ns Deities to know,
Only to whom is giv'n, them not to know.

If God be, he is a living creature; if he be a living creature, he hath sense; and if hee have sense, he is subject to corruption. If he be without a body, he is without a soule, and consequently without action: and if he have a body, he is corruptible. Is not this brave? we are incapable to have made the world, then is there some more excellent nature, that hath set her helping hand unto it. Were it not a sottish arrogancie, that wee should thinke our selves to be the perfectest thing of this Universe? Then sure there is some better thing, And that is God. When you see a rich and stately Mansion house, although you know not who is owner of it, yet will you not say, that it was built for Rats. And this more than humane frame, and divine composition, which we see, of heavens pallace, must we not deeme it to be the mansion of some Lord, greater than our selves? Is not the highest ever the most worthy? And we are seated in the lowest place. *Nothing that is without a soule and void of reason, is able to bring forth a living soule capable of reason. The world doth bring us forth, then the world hath both soule and reason. Each part of us, is lesse than our*

What *selves, we are part of the world, then the world*
 a model *is stored with wisdom and with reason, and that*
 is man, *more plenteously, than we are.* It is a goodly
 upon thing to have a great government. Then the
 worlds government belongeth to some blessed
 and happy nature. The Starres annoy us not,
 then the Starres are full of goodnesse. We have
 need of nourishment, then so have the Gods,
 and feed themselves with the vapours arising
 here below. Worldly goods, are not goods unto
 God. Then are not they goods unto us. To
 offend and to bee offended, are equall witnesses
 of imbecillitie; Then it is folly to feare God.
 God is good by his owne nature, man by his
 industry: which is more? Divine wisdom and
 mans wisdom; have no other distinction, but
 that the first is eternall. Now lastingnesse is
 not an accession unto wisdom. Therefore are
 we fellowes. We have life, reason and libertie,
 we esteeme goodnesse, charitie and justice; these
 qualities are then in him. In conclusion the
 building and destroying the conditions of divi-
 nity, are forged by man according to the relation
 to himselfe. Oh what a patterne, and what a
 modell! Let us raise, and let us amplifie hu-
 mane qualities as much as we please. Puffe-up
 thy selfe poore man, yea swell and swell againe.

—*non si te ruperis, inquit.*

—HOR. *Serm. ii. Sat. iii.* 324.

Swell till you breake, you shall not be,
 Equall to that great one, quoth he.

Profecto non Deum, quem cogitare non possunt, sed

semetipsos pro illo cogitantes, non illum, sed seipsos, non illi, sed sibi comparant. Of a truth, they conceiting, not God, whom they cannot conceive, but themselves instead of God, doe not compare him, but themselves, not to him, but themselves. In naturall things the effects doe but halfe referre their causes. What this? It is above natures order, it's condition is too high, too far out of reach, and overswaying to endure, that our conclusions should seize upon, or fetter the same. It is not by our meanes we reach unto it, this traine is too low. *We are no nerer heaven on the top of [Senis] mount, than in the bottome of the deepest Sea:* Consider of it, that you may see with your Astrolabe. They bring God even to the carnall acquaintance of women, to a prefixed number of times, and to how many generations. *Paulina*, wife unto *Saturnius*, a matron of great reputation in *Rome*, supposing to lye with the God *Serapis*, by the maquerelage of the Priests of that Temple, found her selfe in the armes of a wanton lover of hers. *Varro* the most subtile, and wisest Latine Author, in his bookes of divinitie writeth, that *Hercules* his Sextaine, with one hand casting lots for himselfe, and with the other for *Hercules*, gaged a supper and a wench against him: if he won, at the charge of his offerings, but if he lost, at his owne cost. He lost and paid for a supper and a wench: Her name was *Laurentina*: Who by night saw that God in her armes, saying moreover unto her, that the next day, the first man she met withall, should heavenly pay her her wages. It fortun'd to be one *Taruncius*,

whom to
fashion
divinity!

Fabled a very rich young-man, who tooke her home with
divine him, and in time left her absolute heire of all
origin he had. And she, when it came to her turne,
of Plato hoping to doe that God some acceptable service,
 left the Romane people heire generall of all her
 wealth: And therefore had she divine honours
 attributed unto her. As if it were not suffi-
 cient for *Plato* to descend originally from the
 Gods; by a two-fold line, and to have *Neptune*
 for the common Author of his race. It was
 certainly beleevved at *Athens*, that *Ariston* desir-
 ing to enjoy faire *Perictyone*, he could not, and
 that in his dreame he was warned by God *Apollo*,
 to leave her untouch't and unpolluted, untill such
 time as she were brought a bed. And these
 were the father and mother of *Plato*. How
 many such-like cuckoldries are there in his-
 tories, procured by the Gods against seely
 mortall men? And husbands most injuriously
 blazoned in favor of their children? In *Ma-
 homets* religion, by the easie beleefe of that
 people are many *Merlins* found; That is to
 say fatherles children: Spirituall children, con-
 ceived and borne divinely in the wombs of
 virgins, and that in their language beare names,
 importing as much. We must note, that no-
 thing is more deare and precious to any thing,
 than it's owne being (the Lyon, the Eagle and
 the Dolphin esteeme nothing above their kinde)
 each thing referreth the qualities of all other
 things unto her owne conditions, which we may
 either amplifie or shorten; but that is all: for
 besides this principle, and out of this reference,

Natural
theology
of a
Goose

our imagination cannot go, and guesse further; and it is impossible it should exceede that, or goe beyond it: Whence arise these ancient conclusions. Of all formes, that of man is the fairest: Then God is of this forme. No man can be happy without vertue, nor can vertue be without reason; And no reason can lodge but in a humane shape: God is then invested with a humane figure. *Ita est informatum anticipatum mentibus nostris, ut homini, quum de Deo cogitet, forma occurrat humana* (Cic. Nat. Deo, i.). The prejudice forestaled in our mindes is so framed, as the forme of man comes to mans minde, when he is thinking of God. Therefore Xenophanes said pleasantly, that if beasts frame any Gods unto themselves, (as likely it is they doe) they surely frame them like unto themselves, and glorifie themselves as we do. For, why may not a Goose say thus? All parts of the world behold me, the earth serveth me to tread upon, the Sunne to give me light, the starres to inspire me with influence: this commoditie I have of the winds, and this benefit of the waters; there is nothing that this worlds-vault doth so favorably looke upon as me selfe; I am the favorite of nature; Is it not man that careth for me, that keepeth me, lodgeth me, and serveth me? For me it is he soweth, reapeth and grindeth: If he eat me, so doth man feede on his fellow, and so doe I on the wormes, that consume and eat him. As much might a Crane say, yea and more boldly, by reason of her flights-libertie, and the possession of this goodly and high-bownding

Man region. *Tam blanda conciliatrix, et tam sui est*
 imputes *lena ipsa natura* (Cic. Nat. Deo. ib.). *So flattering*
 no work *a broker, and bawd (as it were) is nature to it*
 to the *selfe*. Now by the same consequence, the des-
 gods tinies are for us, the world is for us; it shineth,
 and thundreth for us: Both the creator and the
 creatures are for us: It is the marke and point
 whereat the universitie of things aymeth. Sur-
 vay but the register, which Philosophy hath
 kept these two thousand yeares and more, of
 heavenly affaires. The Gods never acted, and
 never spake, but for man: She ascribeth no
 other consultation, nor imputeth other vacation
 unto them. Loe how they are up in armes
 against us.

—domitosque Herculeæ manu
 Telluris juvenes, unde periculum
 Fulgens contremuit domus
 Saturni veteris.—HOR. Car. il. Od. xii. 6

And young earth-gallants tamed by the hand
 Of Hercules, whereby the habitation
 Of old Saturnus did in perill stand,
 And, shyn'd it ne're so bright, yet fear'd invasion.

See how they are partakers, of our troubles,
 that so they may be even with us, forsomuch as
 so many times we are partakers of theirs.

Neptunus muros magnoque emota tridenti
Fundamenta quatit, totamque à sedibus urbem
Eruit; hic Juno Scæas sævissima portas
Prima tenet.—VIRG. Æn. ii. 610.

Neptunus with his great three-forked mace
 Shak's the weake wall, and tottering foundation,
 And from the site the Cittle doth displace,
 Fierce *Juno* first holds-ope the gates t' invasion.

The *Caunians*, for the jealousie of their owne Gods domination, upon their devotion-day arme themselves, and running up and downe, brandishing and striking the ayre with their glaives, and in this earnest manner they expell all foraine, and banish all strange Gods from out their territorie. Their powers are limited according to our necessitie. Some heale Horses, some cure men, some the plague, some the scald, some the cough, some one kinde of scab, and some another: *Adeo minimis etiam rebus prava religio inserit Deos: This corrupt religion engaget and inserteth Gods even in the least matters:* Some make grapes to growe, and some garlike; Some have the charge of bawdrie and uncleannesse, and some of merchandise: To every kinde of trades-man a God. Some one hath his province and credit in the East, and some in the West:

save that
for his
own
benefit

—*hic illius arma*

Hic currus fuit—

—*VIRG. Æn. i. 20.*

His armor here
His chariots there appeare.

O sancte Apollo, qui umbilicum certum terrarum obtines.

—*CIC. Div. ii.*

Sacred *Apollo*, who enfoldest,
The earths set navell, and it holdest.

*Pallada Cecropida, Minoya Greta Dianam,
Vulcanum tellus Hipsipilea colit.*

Junonem Sparte, Pelopidesque Mycena,

Pinigerum Fauni Manalis ora caput:

Mars Latio venerandus.—*OVID. Fast. iii. 81.*

The
multitude
of gods

Besmeared with bloud and goare.

Th' Athenians *Pallas*; *Minos*-Gandy coast
Diana; *Lemnos* *Vulcan* honor's most;

Mycene and *Sparta*, *Juno* thinke divine;
The coast of *Mænalus* *Faune* crown'd with pine;
Latium doth *Mars* adore.

Some hath but one borough or family in his possession: Some lodgeth alone, and some in company, either voluntarily or necessarily.

Junctaque sunt magno templa nepotis avo.

—I. 294.

To the great grand-sires shrine,
The nephews temples doe combine.

Some there are so seely and popular (for their number amounteth to six and thirty thousand) that five or six of them must be shuffled up together to produce an eare of corne, and thereof they take their severall names. Three to a doore; one to be the boards, one to be the hinges, and the third to the threshold. Foure to a childe, as protectors of his bandels, of his drinke, of his meat, and of his sucking. Some are certaine, others uncertaine, some doubtfull; and some that come not yet into paradise.

*Quos, quoniam cæli nondum dignamur honore,
Quas dedimus certè terras, habitare sinamus.*

—OVID. *Metam.* i. 194.

Whom for as yet with heav'n we have not graced,
Let them on earth by our good grant be placed.

There are some Philosophicall, some poetically, and some civill, some of a meane condition, betweene divine and humane nature, mediators, and spokes-men betweene us and God: wor-

shipped in a kinde of second or diminutive order of adoration : infinite in titles and offices : some good, some bad ; some old and crazed, and some mortall. For *Chrysippus* thought, that in the last conflagration or burning of the world, all the Gods should have an end, except *Jupiter*. Man faineth a thousand pleasant societies betweene God and him. Nay is he not his countrieman ?

and their
separate
functions

—*Jovis incunabula Creten.*—OVID. *Met.* viii. 99.

The Ile of famous *Greet*,
For *Jove* a cradle meet.

Behold the excuse, that *Scævola* chiefe Bishop, and *Varro*, a great Divine in their dayes, give us upon the consideration of this subject. It is necessary (say they) that man be altogether ignorant of true things, and beleeeve many false. *Quum veritatem qua liberetur, inquirat: credatur ei expedire, quod fallitur.* Since they seeke the truth, whereby they may be free, let us beleeeve it is expedient for them, to be deceived. Mans eye cannot perceive things, but by the formes of his knowledge. And we remember not the downfall of miserable *Phaeton*, forsomuch as he undertooke to guide the reins of his fathers steeda, with a mortall hand. Our minde doth still relapse into the same depth, and by her owne temeritie doth dissipate and bruise it selfe. If you enquire of Philosophy, what matter the Sun is composed of? What will it answer, but of yron and stone, or other stuffe for his use? Demand of *Zeno*, what Nature is? A fire (saith

The wisest judgment concerning he) an Artist, fit to engender, and proceeding orderly. *Archimedes* master of this Science, and who in truth and certaintie assumeth unto himselfe a precedencie above all others, saith, the Sunne is a God of enflamed yron. Is not this a quaint imagination, produced by the inevitable necessitie of Geometricall demonstrations? Yet not so unavoidable and beneficiall, but *Socrates* hath beene of opinion, that it sufficed to know so much of it as that a man might measure out the land, he either demised or tooke to rent: and that *Polyænus*, who therein had beene a famous and principall Docter, after he had tasted the sweet fruits of the lazie, idle and delicious gardens of *Epicurus*, did not contemne them, as full of falsehood and apparent vanity. *Socrates* in *Xenophon*, upon this point of *Anaxagoras*, allowed and esteemed of antiquitie, well seene and expert above all others in heavenly and divine matters, saith, that he weakened his braines much, as all men doe, who over nicely and greedily will search out those knowledges, which hang not for their mowing, nor pertaine unto them. When he would needs have the Sunne to be a burning stone, he remembered not, that a stone doth not shine in the fire; and which is more, that it consumes therein. And when he made the Sunne and fire to be all one, he forgot, that fire doth not tan and blacke those he looketh upon; that wee fixly looke upon the fire, and that fire consumeth and killeth all plants and hearbs. According to the advice of *Socrates* and mine, *The wisest judging of heaven, is not to*

judge of it at all. Plato in his *Timæus*, being to **heaven is,** speake of Dæmons and spirits, saith, it is an **not to** enterprise far exceeding my skill and ability: **judge** we must beleieve what those ancient forefathers have said of them, who have said to have beene engendred by them. It is against reason not to give credit unto the children of the Gods, although their sayings be neither grounded upon necessary, nor likely reasons, since they tell us, that they speake of familiar and houshold matters. Let us see, whether we have a little more insight in the knowledge of humane and naturall things. Is it not a fond enterprise, to those unto which, by our owne confession, our learning cannot possible attaine, to devise and forge them another body, and of our owne invention to give them a false forme? as is seene in the planetary motions, unto which because our minde cannot reach, nor imagine their naturall conduct, we lend them something of ours, that is to say, materiall, grose and corporall springs and wards:

—*temo aureus, aurea summæ*

Curvatura rotæ, radiorum argenteus ordo.

—Ovid. *Met.* ii. 107.

The Axe-tree gold, the wheelles whole circle gold,
The ranke of raies did all of silver hold.

you would say, we have had Coach-makers, Carpenters, and Painters, who have gone up thither, and there have placed engines with diverse motions, and ranged the wheelings, the windings, and enterlacements of the celestiaall bodies diapred in colours, according to *Plato*, about the spindle of necessity.

The
enigma
of Nature

*Mundus domus est maxima rerum,
Quam quinque altitona fragmine zone
Cingunt, per quam limbus pictus bis sex signis,
Stellimicantibus, alius, in obliquo aethere, Luna
Bigas acceptat.*

The world, of things the greatest habitation,
Which five high-thundring Zones by separation
Engird, through which a scarfe depainted faire
With twice six signes star-shining in the aire.
Obliquely raisde, the waine
O' th' Moone doth entertaine.

They are all dreames, and mad follies. Why will not nature one day be pleased to open her bosome to us, and make us perfectly see the meanes and conduct of her motions, and enable our eyes to judge of them? Oh good God, what abuses, and what distractions should we find in our poore understanding, and weake knowledge! I am deceived, if she hold one thing directly in it's point; and I shall part hence more ignorant of all other things, than mine ignorance. Have I not seene this divine saying in *Plato*, that Nature is nothing but an ænigmaticall poesie? As a man might say, an overshadowed and darke picture, enter-shining with an infinit varietie of false lights, to exercise our conjectures. *Latent ista omnia crassis occultata et circumfusa tenebris ut nulla acies humani ingenii tanta sit, que penetrare in cælum, terram intrare possit* (*Cic. Acad. Q. iv.*). All these things lye hid so veiled and environed with misty darknesse, as no edge of man is so piersant, as it can passe into heaven, or dive into the earth. And truly, Philosophy is nothing else but a sophisticated poesie: whence

have these ancient Authors all their authorities, but from Poets? And the first were Poets themselves, and in their Art treated the same. *Plato* is but a loose Poet. All high and more than humane Sciences are decked and enrobed with a Poeticall stile. Even as women, when their naturall teeth faile them, use some of yvorie, and in stead of a true beautie, or lively colour, lay-on some artificiall hew; and as they make trunk-sleeves of wyre and whale-bone bodies, backes of lathes, and stiffe bumbasted verdugals, and to the open-view of all men paint and embellish themselves with counterfeit and borrowed beauties; so doth learning (and our law hath, as some say, certaine lawfull fictions, on which it groundeth the truth of justice) which in lieu of currant payment and presupposition, delivereth us those things, which she her selfe teacheth us to be meere inventions: For, these *Epicycles*, *Excentriques*, and *Concentriques*, which Astrology useth to direct the state and motions of her Starres, she giveth them unto us, as the best she could ever invent, to fit and sute unto this subject: as in all things else, Philosophy presenteth unto us, not that which is, or she beleeveth, but what she inventeth, as having most apparance, likelyhood, or comelinesse. *Plato* upon the discourse of our bodies-estate, and of that of beasts: That what we have said, is true, we would be assured of it, had we but the confirmation of some oracle, to confirme it. This only we warrant, that it is the likeliest we could say. It is not to heaven alone, that she sendeth her cordages, her engines,

Philo-
sophy
has its
birth in
poetry

Man, and her wheelles : Let us but somewhat consider, what she saith of our selves, and of our contexture. There is no more retrogradation, trepidation, augmentation, recoyling, and violence in the Starres and celestiall bodies, than they have fained and devised in this poore seely little body of man. Verily they have thence had reason to name it *Microcosmos*, or little world, so many severall parts and visages have they imploied to fashion and frame the same. To accommodate the motions which they see in man, the divers functions and faculties, that we feel in our selves ; Into how many severall parts have they divided our soule ? Into how many seats have they placed her ? Into how many orders, stages, and stations have they divided this wretched man, beside the naturall and perceptible ? and to how many distinct offices and vacation ? They make a publike imaginarie thing of it. It is a subject, which they hold and handle : they have all power granted them, to rip him, to sever him, to range him, to joyne and reunite him together againe, and to stuffe him, every one according to his fantasie, and yet they neither have nor possesse him. They cannot so order or rule him, not in truth onely, but in imagination, but still some cadence or sound is discovered, which escapeth their Architecture, bad as it is, and botcht together with a thousand false patches, and fantasticall peeces. And they have no reason to be excused : For, to Painters, when they pourtray the heaven, the earth, the seas, the hills, the scattered Ilands, we pardon them,

if they but represent us with some slight appearance of them; and as of things unknowne we are contented with such fained shadowes: But when they draw us, or any other subject that is familiarly knowne unto us, to the life, then seeke we to draw from them a perfect and exact representation of theirs or our true lineaments, or colours; and scorne if they misse never so little. I commend the Milesian wench, who seeing *Thales* the Philosopher continually ammusung himselfe in the contemplation of heavens-wide-bounding vault, and ever holding his eyes aloft, laid something in his way to make him stumble, therby to warne and put him in minde, that he should not ammus his thoughts about matters above the clowds, before he had provided for, and well considered those at his feet. Verily she advised him well, and it better became him, rather to looke to himselfe than to gaze on heaven; For, as *Democritus* by the mouth of *Cicero* saith,

The girl
and the
philosopher

Quod est ante pedes, nemo spectat: celi scrutantur plagas,—*Cic. Div. ii.*

No man lookes, what before his feet doth lie,
They seeke and search the climates of the skie.

But our condition beareth, that the knowledge of what we touch with our hands, and have amongst us, is as far from us and above the clouds, as that of the stars: As saith *Socrates* in *Plato*, That one may justly say to him who medleth with Philosophy, as the woman said to *Thales*, which is, he seeth nothing of

The body that which is before him. For, every Philosopher is ignorant of what his neighbour doth, may be known, yea, he knowes not what himselfe doth, and wots not what both are, whether beasts or men. These people who thinke *Sebondes* reasons to be weake and lame, who know nothing themselves, and yet will take upon them to governe the world and know all :

*Quæ mare compescant causæ, quid temperet annum,
Stellæ sponte sua, jussæve vagentur et errant :
Quid præmat obscurum Lunæ, quid proferat orbem,
Quid velit et possit rerum concordia discors.*

—HOR. i. *Epist.* xii. 16.

What cause doth calme the Sea, what cleares the
yeare,
Whether Stars forc't, or of selfe-will appeare :
What makes the Moones darke Orbe to wax or
wane,
What friendly fewd of things both will and can.

Did they never sound amid their books, the difficulties that present themselves to them, to know their owne being? We see very well, that our finger stirreth, and our foot moveth, that some parts of our body, move of themselves without our leave, and other some that stir but at our pleasure: and we see that certaine apprehensions engender a blushing-red colour, others a palenesse; that some imagination doth only worke in the milt, another in the braine; some one enduceth us to laugh, another causeth us to weepe; some astonisheth and stupifieth all our senses, and staieth the motion of all our limbs: at some object the stomake riseth, and

at some other the lower parts. But how a spirituall impression causeth or worketh such a dent or flaw in a massie and solid body or subject, and the nature of the conjoyning, and compacting of these admirable springs and wards, man yet never knew : *Omnia incerta ratione, et in nature majestate abdita* (PLIN.). *All uncertaine in reason, and hid in the majesty of nature*, Saith *Plinie*, And Saint *Augustine*, *Modus, quo corporibus adherent spiritus, omnino mirus est, nec comprehendi ab homine potest, et hoc ipse homo est* (Aug. *De Spir. et Anim.*). *The meane is clearely wonderfull, whereby spirits cleave to our bodies, nor can it be comprehended by man, and that is very man.* Yet is there no doubt made of him : For mens opinions are received after ancient beliefes, by authority and upon credit ; as if it were a religion and a law. What is commonly held of it, is received as a gibrish or fustian tongue. This trueth with all her framing of arguments, and proporcioning of proofes, is received as a firme and solid body, which is no more shaken, which is no more judged. On the other side, every one, the best he can, patcheth up and comforteth this received beliefe, with all the meanes his reason can afford him, which is an instrument very supple, pliable, and yeelding to all shapes. *Thus is the world filled with toys, and overwhelmed in lies and leasings.* The reason that men doubt not much of things, is that common impressions are never thoroughly tride and sifted, their ground is not sounded, nor where the fault and weaknes lieth : Men only debate

but
hardly
the spirit

Concep- and question of the branch, not of the tree :
 tions They aske not whether a thing be true, but
 of the whether it was understood or meant thus and
 nature of thus. They enquire not whether *Galen* hath
 things spoken any thing of worth, but whether thus, or
 so, or otherwise. Truly there was some reason,
 this bridle or restraint of our judgements liberty,
 and this tyranny over our beliefes should extend
 it selfe even to schooles and arts. The God of
 scholasticall learning, is *Aristotle*: It is religion to
 debate of his ordinances, as of those of *Lycurgus*
 in *Sparta*. His doctrine is to us as a canon
 Law, which peradventure is as false as another.
 I know not why I should or might not, as soone,
 and as easie accept, either *Platoes Ideas*, or *Epi-*
curus his Atomes and indivisible things, or the
 fulnesse and emptines of *Leucippus* and *Demo-*
critus, or the water of *Thales*, or of *Anaximanders*
 infinite of nature, or the aire of *Diogenes*, or the
 numbers or proportion of *Pythagoras*, or the in-
 finite of *Parmenides*, or the single-one of *Musæus*,
 or the water and fire of *Apollodorus*, or the
 similarie and resembling parts of *Anaxagoras*, or
 the discord and concord of *Empedocles*, or the
 fire of *Heraclitus*, or any other opinion (of this
 infinit confusion of opinions and sentences, which
 this goodly humane reason, by her certainty and
 cleare-sighted vigilancie brings forth in whatso-
 ever it medleth withal) as I should of *Aristotles*
 conceit, touching this subject of the principles of
 naturall things; which he frameth of three parts,
 that is to say, *Matter*, *Forme*, and *Privation*.
 And what greater vanitie can there be, than to

make inanie it selfe the cause of the production of things? Privation is a negative: With what humour could he make it the cause and beginning of things that are? Yet durst no man move that but for an exercise of Logike: Wherein nothing is disputed to put it in doubt, but to defend the Author of the Schoole from strange objections: His authoritie is the marke, beyond which it is not lawfull to enquire. It is easie to frame what one list upon allowed foundations: For, according to the law and ordinance of this positive beginning, the other parts of the frame are easily directed without crack or danger. By which way we finde our reason well grounded, and we discourse without rub or let in the way: For our masters preoccupate and gaine afore-hand as much place in our beleefe, as they need to conclude afterward what they please, as Geometricians doe by their graunted questions: The consent and approbation which we lend them, giving them wherewith to draw us, either on the right or left hand, and at their pleasure to winde and turne us. Whosoever is beleaved in his presuppositions, he is our master, and our God: He will lay the plot of his foundations so ample and easie, that, if he list, he will carrie us up, even unto the clouds. In this practice or negotiation of learning, we have taken the saying of *Pythagoras* for currant payment; which is, that *every expert man ought to be beleaved in his owne trade*. The Logitian referreth himselfe to the Grammarian for the signification of words: The Rethoritian borroweth the places of argu-

One step
granted,
the rest
follows

All human suppositions are of equal value
 ments from the Logitian : The Poet his measures from the Musitian : The Geometrician his proportions from the Arithmetician : The Metaphisikes take the conjectures of the Physikes, for a ground. For, every art hath her presupposed principles, by which mans judgement is bridled on all parts. If you come to the shocke or front of this barre, in which consists the principall error, they immediatly pronounce this sentence ; *That there is no disputing against such as deny principles.* There can be no principles in men, except divinitie hath revealed them unto them : All the rest, both beginning, middle, and end, is but a dreame and a vapor. Those that argue by presupposition, we must presuppose against them, the very same axiome, which is disputed of. For, each humane presupposition, and every invention, unlesse reason make a difference of it, hath as much authoritie as another. So must they all be equally balanced, and first the generall and those that tyrannize us. *A perswasion of certaintie is a manifest testimonie of foolishnesse, and of extreme uncertaintie.* And no people are lesse Philosophers and more foolish, than *Platoes* Philodoxes, or lovers of their owne opinions. We must know whether fire be hot, whether snow be white, whether in our knowledge there be any thing hard or soft. And touching the answeres, whereof they tell old tales, as to him who made a doubt of heat, to whom one replied, that to trie he should cast himselfe into the fire ; to him that denied the yce to be cold, that he should put some in his bosome ; they are most

unworthy the profession of a Philosopher. If they had left us in our owne naturall estate, admitting of strange apparences, as they present themselves unto us by our senses, and had suffred us to follow our naturall appetites, directed by the condition of our birth, they should then have reason to speake so. But from them it is, that we have learn't to become Judges of the world; it is from them we hold this conceit, that mans reason is the generall controuler of all that is, both without and within heavens-vault; which imbraceth all, and can doe all, by meanes wherof, all things are knowne and discerned. This answer were good among the Canibals, who without any of *Aristotles* precepts, or so much as knowing the name of naturall Philosophy, enjoy most happily, a long, a quiet, and a peaceable life. This answer might haply auaile more, and be of more force, than all those they can borrow from their reason and invention. All living creatures, yea, beasts and all, where the commandement of the naturall law is yet pure and simple, might with us be capable of this answer; but they have renounced it. They shall not need to tell me, it is true, for you both heare and see, that it is so: They must tell me if what I thinke I feel, I feel the same in effect; and if I feel it, then let them tell me, wherefore I feel it, and how and what: Let them tell me the name, the beginning, the tennons, and the abuttings of heat and of cold, with the qualities of him that is agent, or of the patient; or let them quit me their profession, which is neither to

Deification of reason

Man's reason and God's admit, nor approve any thing, but by the way of reason: It is their touchstone, to trie all kindes of Essayes. But surely it is a touchstone full of falsehood, errors, imperfection and weaknesse: which way can we better make triall of it, than by it selfe? If she may not be credited speaking of her selfe, hardly can she be fit to judge of strange matters: If she know any thing, it can be but her being and domicile. She is in the soule, and either a part or effect of the same. For, the true and essentiall reason (whose name we steal by false signes) lodgeth in Gods bosome: There is her home, and there is her retreat, thence she takes her flight, when Gods pleasure is that we shall see some glimps of it: Even as *Pallas* issued out of her fathers head, to communicate and empart her selfe unto the world. Now let us see what mans reason hath taught us of her selfe and of the soule: Not of the soule in generall, whereof well nigh all Philosophy maketh both the celestiall and first bodies partakers; nor of that which *Thales* attributed even unto things, that are reputed without soule or life, drawne thereunto by the consideration of the Adamant stone: But of that which appertaineth to us, and which we should know best.

*Ignoratur enim quæ sit natura animai,
Nata sit, an contra nascentibus insinuetur,
Et simul intereat nobiscum morte dirempta,
An tenebras orci visat, vastasque lacunas,
An pecudes alias divinitus insinuet se.*

—LUCR. i. 113.

What the soules nature is, we doe not know ;
 If it be bred, or put in those are bred,
 Whether by death divorst with us it goe,
 Or see the darke vast lakes of hell below,
 Or into other creatures turne the head.

Nature
 of the
 soul

To *Crates* and *Dicaearchus* it seemed that there was none at all ; but that the body stirred thus with and by a naturall motion : To *Plato*, that it was a substance moving of it selfe : To *Thales*, a Nature without rest ; To *Asclepiades*, an exercitation of the senses : To *Hesiodus* and *Anaximander*, a thing composed of earth and water : To *Parmenides*, of earth and fire : To *Empedocles*, of bloud :

Sanguineam vomit ille animam—

—VIRG. *Æn.* ix. 349.

His soule of purple-bloud he vomits out.

To *Possidonius*, *Cleanthes*, and *Galen*, a heat, or hot complexion :

Ignis est ollis vigor, et celestis origo :

—vi. 730.

A fry vigor and celestiall spring,
 In their originall they strangely bring.

To *Hippocrates*, a spirit dispersed thorow the body : To *Varro*, an aire received in at the mouth, heated in the lungs, tempered in the heart, and dispersed thorow all parts of the body : To *Zeno*, the quintessence of the foure Elements : To *Heraclides Ponticus*, the light : To *Xenocrates*, and to the *Ægyptians*, a moving

Know- number: To the Chaldeans, a vertue without
ledge of any determinate forme.
the soul
is unat-
tainable

—*Habitum quendam vitalem corporis esse,
 Harmoniam Græci quam dicunt.*—LUCR. iii. 100.

There of the body is a vitall frame,
 The which the Greeks a harmony doe name.

And not forgetting *Aristotle*, that which naturally causeth the body to move, who calleth it Entelechy, or perfection moving of it selfe (as cold an invention as any other) for he neither speaketh of the essence, nor of the beginning, nor of the soules nature; but onely noteth the effects of it: *Lactantius*, *Seneca*, and the better part amongst the Dogmatists, have confessed, they never understood what it was: And after all this rable of opinions: *Harum sententiarum quæ vera sit, Deus aliquis viderit* (CIC. *Tus. Qu. i.*). Which of these opinions is true, let some God looke unto it, (saith *Cicero*). I know by my selfe (quoth Saint *Bernard*) how God is incomprehensible, since I am not able to comprehend the parts of mine owne being: *Heracitus*, who held that every place was full of Soules and Dæmons, maintained neverthelesse, that a man could never goe so far towards the knowledge of the soule, as that he could come unto it; so deep and mysterious was her essence. There is no lesse dissention nor disputing about the place, where she should be seated. *Hypocrates* and *Herophilus* place it in the ventricle of the braine: *Democritus* and *Aristotle*, through all the body:

*Ut bona sæpe valetudo cum dicitur esse
Corporis, et non est tamen hæc pars ulla valentis.*

—LUCR. iii. 103.

The
place of
the soul

As health is of the body said to be,
Yet is no part of him, in health we see.

Epicurus in the stomacke.

*Hæc exultat enim pavor ac metus, hæc loca circum
Latitæ mulcent.*

—142.

For in these places feare doth domineere,
And neere these places joy keepes merry cheere.

The Stoickes, within and about the heart:
Erasistratus, joyning the membrane of the Epi-
cranium: *Empedocles*, in the blood: as also
Moses, which was the cause he forbad the eat-
ing of beasts blood, unto which their soule is
commixed: *Galen* thought that every part of the
body had his soule: *Strato* hath placed it be-
tweene the two upper eye-lids: *Qua facie quidem
sit animus aut ubi habitet, nec querendum quidem
est* (CIC. Tusc. Qu. i.). We must not so much as
enquire, what face the minde beares, or where it
dwels: saith *Cicero*. I am well pleased to let
this man use his owne words: For, why should
I alter the speech of eloquence it selfe? since
there is small gaine in stealing matter from his
inventions: They are both little used, not very
forcible, and little unknowne. But the reason why
Chrysippus, and those of his Sect, will prove the
soule to be about the heart, is not to be for-
gotten. It is (saith he) because when we will
affirme or sweare anything we lay our hand
upon the stomacke; And when we will pro-

The body as a punishment nounce, ἐγὼ, which signifieth, my selfe, we put downe our chin toward the stomacke. This passage ought not to be past-over without noting the vanity of so great a personage: For, besides that his considerations are of themselves very slight, the latter proveth but to the Græcians, that they have their soule in that place. *No humane judgement is so vigilant or Argos-cied, but sometimes shal fall a sleep or slumber.* What shal we feare to say? Behold the Stoickes, fathers of humane wisdom, who devise that the soule of man, overwhelmed with any ruine, laboureth and panteth a long time to get out, unable to free her selfe from that charge, even as a Mouse taken in a trap. Some are of opinion, that the world was made, to give a body in lieu of punishment, unto the spirits, which through their fault were fallen from the puritie, wherein they were created: The first creation having beene incorporeall. And that according as they have more or lesse removed themselves from their spirituality, so are they more or lesse merily and Gioivially, or rudely and Saturnally incorporated: Whence proceedeth the infinite variety of so much matter created. But the spirit, who for his chastizement was invested with the body of the Sun, must of necessitie have a very rare and particular measure of alteration. The extremities of our curious search turne to a glimmering and all to a dazeling. As *Plutarke* saith, of the off-spring of Histories, that after the manner of Cards or Maps, the utmost limits of knowne Countries, are

set downe to be full of thicke marrish grounds, shady forrests, desart and uncouth places. See here wherefore the grosest and most Childish dotings, are more commonly found in these which treat of highest and furthest matters; even confounding and overwhelming themselves in their owne curiositie and presumption. The end and beginning of learning are equally accompted foolish. Marke but how *Plato* taketh and raiseth his flight aloft in his Poeticall clouds, or cloudy Poesies. Behold and read in him the gibbrish of the Gods. But what dream'd or doted he on, when he defined man to be a creature with two feet, and without feathers; giving them that were disposed to mocke at him, a pleasant and scopefull occasion to doe it? For, having plucked-off the feathers of a live capon, they named him the man of *Plato*. And by what simplicitie did the Epicureans first imagine, that the Atomes or Motes, which they termed to be bodies, having some weight and a naturall moving downeward, had framed the world; untill such time as they were advised by their adversaries, that by this description, it was not possible, they should joyne and take hold one of another; their fall being so downe-right and perpendicular, and every way engendring Parallel lines? And therefore was it necessarie, they should afterward adde a casuall moving, sideling unto them: And moreover to give their Atomes crooked and forked tailes, that so they might take hold of any thing and claspe themselves. And even then, those that

The
'man'
of Plato

Theories of Atoms pursue them with this other consideration, doe they not much trouble them? If Atomes have by chance formed so many sorts of figures, why did they never meet together to frame a house, or make a shooe? Why should we not likewise beleeeve that an infinit number of Greek Letters confusedly scattred in some open place, might one day meet and joyne together to the contexture of th' Iliads? That which is capable of reason (saith *Zeno*) is better than that which is not. *There is nothing better than the world: then the world is capable of reason.* By the same arguing *Cotta* maketh the world a Mathematician, and by this other arguing of *Zeno*, he makes him a Musitian, and an Organist. The whole is more than the part: We are capable of wisdom, and we are part of the world: Then the world is wise. There are infinit like examples seene, not only of false, but foolish arguments, which cannot hold, and which accuse their authors not so much of ignorance, as of folly, in the reproches that Philosophers charge one another with, about the disagreeings in their opinions and Sects. He that should fardle-up a bundle or huddle of the fooleries of mans wisdom, might recount wonders. I willingly assemble some (as a shew or patterne) by some meanes or byase, no lesse profitable than the most moderate instructions. Let us by that judge, what we are to esteeme of man, of his sense, and of his reason; since in these great men, and who have raised mans sufficiencie so high, there are found so grosse

errors, and so apparant defects. As for me, I would rather beleve, that they have thus casually treated learning, even as a sporting child's baby, and have sported themselves with reason, as of a vaine and frivolous instrument, setting forth all sorts of inventions, devices, and fantasies, sometimes more outstretched, and sometimes more loose. The same *Plato*, who defineth man like unto a Capon, saith elsewhere after *Socrates*, that in good sooth, he knoweth not what man is; and that of all parts of the world, there is none so hard to be knowne. By this varietie of conceits and instabilitie of opinions, they (as it were) leade us closely by the hand to this resolution of their irresolution. They make a profession not alwayes to present their advice manifest and unmasked: they have oft concealed the same under the fabulous shadows of Poesie, and sometimes under other vizards. For, our imperfection admitteth this also, that raw meats are not alwayes good for our stomacks: but they must be dried, altred and corrupted, and so doe they, who sometimes shadow their simple opinions and judgements; And that they may the better sute themselves unto common use, they many times falsifie them. They will not make open profession of ignorance, and of the imbecillitie of mans reason, because they will not make children afraid: But they manifestly declare the same unto us under the shew of a troubled Science and unconstant learning. I perswade some body in *Italy*, who laboured very much to speake Italian, that alwayes provided,

Nothing
so hard
to be
known
as man

All absurdities
can be
found in
philosophy

he desired but to be understood, and not to seek to excell others therein, he should onely imploy and use such words as came first to his mouth, whether they were Latine, French, Spanish, or Gascoine, and that adding the Italian terminations unto them, he should never misse to fall upon some idiome of the Countrie, either Tuscan, Roman, Venetian, Piemontoise, or Neapolitan; and amongst so many severall formes of speech to take hold of one. The very same I say of Philosophy. She hath so many faces, and so much varietie, and hath said so much, that all our dreames and devises are found in her. The fantasie of man can conceive or imagine nothing, be it good or evill, that is not to be found in her: *Nihil tam absurde dici potest, quod non dicatur ab aliquo Philosophorum* (Cic. Div. ii.). *Nothing may be spoken so absurdly, but that it is spoken by some of the Philosophers.* And therefore doe I suffer my humours or caprices more freely to passe in publike; Forasmuch as though they are borne with, and of me, and without any patterne; well I wot, they will be found to have relation to some ancient humour, and some shall be found, that will both know and tell whence, and of whom I have borrowed them. My customes are naturall; when I contrived them, I called not for the help of any discipline: And weake and faint as they were, when I have had a desire to expresse them, and to make them appeare to the world a little more comely and decent, I have somewhat indeavoured to aide them with discourse, and assist

them, with examples. I have wondred at my selfe, that by meere chance I have met with them, agreeing and sutable to so many ancient examples and Philosophicall discourses. What regiment my life was of, I never knew nor learned but after it was much worne and spent. A new figure: An unpremeditated Philosopher and a casuall. But to returne unto our soule, where *Plato* hath seated reason in the braine; anger in the heart; lust in the liver; it is very likely, that it was rather an interpretation of the soules motions, than any division or separation he meant to make of it, as of a body into many members. And the likeliest of their opinion is, that it is alwayes a soule, which by her rationall faculty, remembreth her selfe, comprehendeth, judgeth, desireth, and exerciseth all her other functions, by divers instruments of the body, as the Pilote ruleth and directeth his ship according to the experience he hath of it; now stretching, haling, or loosing a cable, sometimes hoysing the Main-yard, removing an Oare, or stirring the Rudder, causing severall effects with one only power: And that she abideth in the braine, appeareth by this, that the hurts and accidents, which touch that part, doe presently offend the faculties of the soule, whence she may without inconvenience descend and glide through other parts of the body:

Montaigne an
unpre-
meditated
philosopher

—*medium non deserit unquam*

Cali Phæbus iter: radiis tamen omnia lustrat.

—CLAUD. vi. *Hæc. Cons. Pæm.* 411.

Never the Sunne forsakes heav'ns middle wayes,
Yet with his rayes he light's all, all surveyes.

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2 B

Sources as the Sunne spreadeth his light, and infuseth
of the his power from heaven, and therewith filleth
soul the whole world.

*Cætera pars animæ per totum dissita corpus
Paret, et ad numen mentis nomenque movetur.*

—LUCR. iii. 144.

Th' other part of the soule through all the body
sent

Obeys, and moved is, by the mindes government.

Some have said, that there was a generall
soule, like unto a great body, from which all
particular soules were extracted, and returned
thither, alwayes reconjoyning and entermingling
themselves unto that Universall matter:

—*Deum namque ire per omnes*

*Terrasque tractusque maris cælumque profundum:
Hinc pecudes; armenta, viros, genus omne ferarum,
Quemque sibi tenues nascentem arcessere vitas,
Scilicet huc reddi deinde, ac resoluta referri
Omnia: nec morti esse locum—*

—VIRG. Georg. iv. Ge. 222.

For God through all the earth to passe is found,
Through all Sea currents, through the heav'n pro-
found,

Here hence men, heards, and all wilde beasts that
are,

Short life in birth each to themselves doe share.

All things resolved to this point restor'd

Returne, nor any place to death afford.

others, that they did but reconjoyne and fasten
themselves to it againe: others, that they were
produced by the divine substance: others, by the
Angels, of fire and aire: some from the beginning
of the world; and some, even at the time of need:

others, make them to descend from the round of the Moone, and that they returne to it againe. The common sort of antiquitie, that they are begotten from Father to Sonne, after the same manner and production, that all other naturall things are; arguing so by the resemblances, which are betweene Fathers and Children.

The
soul as
generator

Instillata patris virtus tibi,—

Thy Fathers vertues be
Instilled into thee.

Fortes creantur fortibus et bonis,

—HOR. *Car. iv. Od. iv. 29.*

Of valiant Sires and good,
There comes a valiant brood.

and that from fathers we see descend unto children, not only the marks of their bodies, but also a resemblance of humours, of complexions, and inclinations of the soule.

*Denique cur acrum violentia triste Leonum
Seminium sequitur, dolus Vulpibus, et fuga Cervis
A patribus datur, et patrius pavor incitat Artus
Si non certa suo quia semine seminioque
Vis animi pariter crescit cum corpore toto?*

—LUCR. *iii. 766, 771.*

Why followes violence the savage Lyons race?
Why craft the Foxes? Why to Deere to flye apace?
By parents is it given, when parents feare incites,
Unlesse because a certaine force of inward spirits
With all the body growes,
As seed and seed-spring goes?

That divine justice is grounded thereupon,
punishing the fathers offences upon the children;
forsomuch as the contagion of the fathers vices,

Is our birth a sleep and a forgetting? is in some sort printed, in childrens soules, and that the misgovernment of their will toucheth them. Moreover, that if the soules came from any other place, then by a naturall consequence, and that out of the body they should have beene some other thing, they should have some remembrance of their first being : Considering the naturall faculties, which are proper unto him, to discourse, to reason, and to remember.

—*si in corpus nascentibus insinuat*,
Cur super anteaquam aetatem meminisse nequimus,
Nec vestigia gustarum rerum ulla tenemus ?

—LUCR. iii. 692.

If our soule at our birth be in our body cast,
 Why can we not remember ages over-past,
 Nor any markes retaine of things done first or last ?

For, to make our soules-condition, to be of that worth we would, they must all be pre-supposed wise, even when they are in their naturall simplicitie and genuine puritie. So should they have beene such, being freed from the corporall prison, aswell before they entred the same, as we hope they shall be, when they shall be out of it. And it were necessarie they should (being yet in the body) remember the said knowledge (as *Plato* said) that what we learn't, was but a new remembring of that which we had knowne before : A thing that any man may by experience maintaine to be false and erronious. First, because we doe not precisely remember what we are taught, and that if memorie did mecrely execute her function, she would at least suggest us with something

besides our learning. Secondly, what she knew being in her puritie, was a true understanding, knowing things as they are, by her divine intelligence: Whereas here, if she be instructed, she is made to receive lies and apprehend vice, whercin she cannot imploy her memorie; this image and conception, having never had place in her. To say, that the corporall prison, doth so suppress her naturall faculties, that they are altogether extinct in her: first, is cleane contrarie to this other beleefe, to [acknowledge] her forces so great, and the operations which men in this transitorie life feel of it, so wonderfull, as to have thereby concluded this divinitie, and forepast eternitie, and the immortalitie to come :

The
soul's
battle is
in this
world

*Nam si tantopere est animi mutata potestas,
Omnis ut actarum exciderit refunctio rerum,
Non ut opior ex ab letho jam longior errat.*

—695.

If of our minde the power be so much altered,
As of things done all hold, all memorie is fled,
Then (as I ghesse) it is not far from being dead.

Moreover, it is here with us, and no where else, that the soules powers and effects, are to be considered; all the rest of her perfections, are vaine and unprofitable unto her: it is by her present condition, that all her immortalitie must be rewarded and paid, and she is only accomptable for the life of man: It were injustice to have abridged her of her meanes and faculties, and to have disarmed her against the time of her captivitie and prison, of her weaknesse and sicknesse, of the time and season where she had

Material beene forced and compelled to draw the judgement and condemnation of infinite and endlesse continuance, and to relye upon the consideration of so short a time, which is peradventure of one or two houres, or if the worst happen, of an age, (which have no more proportion with [infinite], than a moment) definitively to appoint and establish of all her being, by that instant of space. It were an impious disproportion to wrest an eternall reward in consequence of so short a life. *Plato*, to save himselfe from this inconvenience, would have future payments limited to a hundred yeares continuance, relatively unto a humane continuance: and many of ours have given them temporall limits. By this they judged, that her generation followed the common condition of humane things: As also her life, by the opinion of *Epicurus* and *Democritus*, which hath most beene received, following these goodly apparences. That her birth was seene, when the body was capable of her; her vertue and strength was perceived as the corporall encreased; in her infancie might her weaknesse be discerned, and in time her vigor and ripenesse, then her decay and age, and in the end her decrepitude:

—*igni pariter cum corpore, et una
Crescere sentimus, pariterque senescere mentem.*

—*Ib.* 450.

The minde is with the body bred, we doe behold,
It jointly growes with it, with it it waxeth old.

They perceived her to be capable of diverſe

passions, and agitated by many languishing and painfull motions, where through she fell into wearinesse and griefe, capable of alteration and change, of joy, stupefaction and languishment, subject to her infirmities, diseases, and offences, even as the stomacke or the foot,

Infirmities
of the
soul

—*mentem sanari, corpus ut aegrum
Cernimus, et flecti medicina posse videmus :*

—*Ib. 517.*

We see as bodies sicke are cur'd, so is the minde,
We see, how Physicke can it each way turne and
winde.

dazled and troubled by the force of wine ; removed from her seat by the vapors of a burning feaver ; drowzie and sleepy by the application of some medicaments, and rouzed up againe by the vertue of some others.

—*corpoream naturam animi esse necesse est,
Corporeis quoniam telis ictuque laborat.*—*Ib. 176.*

The nature of the minde must needs corporeall bee,
For with corporeall darts and strokes it's griev'd
we see.

She was scene to dismay and confound all her faculties by the only biting of a sicke dog, and to containe no great constancie of discourse, no sufficiencie, no vertue, no philosophicall resolution, no contention of her forces, that might exempt her from the subjection of these accidents : The spittle or slavering of a mastive dog shed upon *Socrates* his hands, to trouble all his wisdom, to distemper his great and regular imaginations, and so to vanquish and annull

The soul them, that no signe or shew of his former knowledge was left in him :

—*vis animai*

*Conturbatur, —et divisa seorsum
Disiectatur eodem ille distracta veneno.*

—*Ib. 501.*

The soules force is disturbed, seperated,
Distracted by that same poison, alienated.

And the said venome to finde no more resistance in his soule, than in that of a childe of foure yeares old, a venome able to make all Philosophy (were she incarnate) become furious and mad : So that *Cato*, who scorned both death and fortune, could not abide the sight of a looking glasse, or of water ; overcome with horreur, and quelled with amazement, if by the contagion of a mad dog, he had fallen into that sickness, which Physitians call *Hydrophobia*, or feare of waters.

—*vis morbi distracta per artus*

*Turbat agens animam, spumantes aequore salso
Ventorum ut validis ferveant viribus unda.*—*Ib. 495.*

The force of the disease disperst through joints
offends,

Driving the soule, as in salt Seas the wave ascends,
Foming by furious force which the wind raging
lends.

Now concerning this point, Philosophy hath indeed armed man for the enduring of all other accidents, whether of patience, or if it be overcostly to be found, of an infallible defeat, in conveying her selfe, altogether from the sense : but they are meanes, which serve a soule, that

is her owne, and in her proper force, capable of discourse and deliberation : not to this inconvenience, wherewith a Philosopher, a soule becommeth the soule of a foole troubled, vanquished and lost, which divers occasions may produce, as in an over-violent agitation, which by some vehement passion, the soule may beget in her selfe : or a hurt in some part of the body ; or an exhalation from the stomacke, casting us into some astonishment, dazling, or giddinesse of the head :

by
corporal
accidents

—*morbis in corporis avius errat
Sape animus, dementit enim, delirare fatur,
Interdumque gravi Lethargo fertur in altum
Æternumque soporem, oculis nutuque cadenti.*

—*Ib.* 467.

The minde in bodies sicknesse often wandring
strayes :

For it enraged rave's, and idle talke outbrayes :
Brought by sharpe Lethargy sometime to more than
deepe,

While eyes and eye-lids fall into eternall sleepe.

Philosophers have in mine opinion but slightly harp't upon this string, no more than another of like consequence. They have ever this *Dilemma* in their mouth, to comfort our mortall condition. *The soule is either mortall or immortall : if mortall, she shall be without paine : if immortall, she shall mend.* They never touch the other branch : What, if she empaire and be worse ? And leave the menaces of future paines to Poets. But thereby they deal themselves a good game. They are two omissions, which in their dis-

The courses doe often offer themselves unto me. I
 soul con- come to the first againe: the soule loseth the
 sidered use of that Stoicall chiefe felicitie, so constant
 capable and so firme. Our goodly wisdome must neces-
 of death sarily in this place yeeld her selfe, and quit her
 weapons. As for other matters, they also
 considered by the vanitie of mans reason, that
 the mixture and societie of two so different
 parts, as is the mortall and the immortall is
 inimaginable :

*Quippe etenim mortale eterno jungere, et una
 Consentire putare, et fungi mutua posse,
 Desipere est. Quid enim diversius esse putandum est,
 Aut magis inter se disjunctum discrepitanque,
 Quam mortale quod est, immortalis atque perenni
 Junctum in concilio sævas tolerare procellas?*

—*Ib.* 831.

For what immortall is, mortall to joyne unto,
 And thinke they can agree, and mutuall duties doe,
 Is to be foolish: For what thinke we stranger is.
 More disagreeable, or more disjoyn'd, than this,
 That mortall with immortall endlesse joyn'd in
 union,
 Can most outrageous stormes endure in their com-
 munion?

Moreover they felt their soule to be engaged in
 death, as well as the body;

—*simul ævo fessa fatiscit*,—*Ib.* 463.

It joyntly faint's in one,
 Wearied as age is gone.

Which thing (according to *Zeno*) the image
 of sleep doth manifestly shew unto us. For
 he esteemeth, that it is a fainting and declination

of the soule, aswell as of the body. *Contrahi* We are
animum, et quasi labi putat atque decidere (Cic. as owls
Div. ii.). *He thinks the minde is contracted,* blinking
and doth as it were slide and fall downe. at the sun
 And that (which is perceived in some) it's force and
 vigor maintaineth it selfe even in the end of
 life, they referred and imputed the same to the
 diversitie of diseases, as men are seene in that
 extremitie, to maintaine, some one sense, and
 some another, some their hearing, and some
 their smelling, without any alteration; and there
 is no weaknesse or decay seene so universall, but
 some entire and vigorous parts will remaine.

*Non alio pacto quam si pes cūm dolet agri,
 In nullo caput interea sit fortè dolore.*—LUCR. iii. 111.

No otherwise, than if, when sick-mans foote doth
 ake,
 Meane time perhaps his head no fellow-feeling
 take.

Our judgements sight referreth it selfe unto
 truth, as doth the Owles eyes unto the shining
 of the Sunne, as saith *Aristotle*. How should
 we better convince him, than by so grosse blind-
 nesse, in so apparent a light? For, the contrarie
 opinion of the soules immortalitie, which *Cicero*
 saith, to have first beene brought in (at least by
 the testimonie of books) by *Pherocydes Syrius*,
 in the time of King *Tullus* (others ascribe the
 invention thereof to *Thales*, and other to others)
 it is the part of humane knowledge treated
 most sparingly and with more doubt. The most
 constant Dogmatists (namely in this point) are

The inforced to cast themselves under the shelter of
 philo- the Academikes wings. No man knowes what
 sophy of Aristotle hath established upon this subject, no
 Aristotle more than all the ancients in Generall, who
 handle the same with a very wavering believe :
Rem gratissimam promittentium magis quam probantiam. Who rather promise than approve a thing most acceptable. He hath hidden himselfe under the clouds of intricat and ambiguous words, and unintelligible senses, and hath left his Secretaries as much cause to dispute upon his judgement, as upon the matter. Two things made this his opinion plausible to them : the one, that without the immortality of soules, there should no meanes be left to ground or settle the vaine hopes of glory ; a consideration of wonderfull credit in the world : the other (as *Plato* saith) that it is a most profitable impression, that vices, when they steal away from out the sight and knowledge of humane justice, remaine ever as a blancke before divine justice, which even after the death of the guilty, will severely pursue them. *Man is ever possessed with an extreme desire to prolong his being, and hath to the uttermost of his skill provided for it, Toombs and Monuments* are for the preservation of his body, and glorie for the continuance of his name. He hath employed all his wit to frame him selfe a new, (as impacient of his fortune) and to underprop or uphold himselfe by his inventions. The soule by reason of her trouble and imbecility, as unable to subsist of her selfe, is ever, and in all places questing and searching comforts, hopes, founda-

tions, and forraine circumstances, on which she may take hold and settle her selfe. And how light and fantastick soever his invention doth frame them unto him, he notwithstanding relieth more surely upon them, and more willingly, than upon himselfe: But it is a wonder to see how the most obstinat in this so just and manifest perswasion of our spirits immortallitie, have found themselves short and unable to establish the same by their humane forces. *Somnia sunt non docentis, sed optantis.* These are dreames not of one that teacheth, but wisbeth what he would have: said an ancient Writer. Man may by his owne testimonie know, that the truth he alone discovereth, the same he oweth unto fortune and chance; since even when she is false into his hands, he wanteth wherewith to lay hold on her, and keepe her; and that this reason hath not the power to prevaile with it. *All things produced by our owne discourse and sufficiencie, as well true as false, are subject to uncertaintie and disputation.* It is for the punishment of our temeritie, and instruction of our miserie and incapacitie, that God caused the trouble, downefall and confusion of *Babels* Tower. Whatsoever we attempt without his assistance, what ever we see without the lampe of his grace, is but vanity and folly: With our weaknes we corrupt and adulterate the very essence of truth (which is uniforme and constant) when fortune giveth us the possession of it. What course soever man taketh of himselfe, it is Gods permission that he ever commeth to that confusion, whose image he so lively repre-

Human
reason is
vanity

Tower of Babel senteth unto us, by the just punishment, wherewith he framed the presumptuous over-weening of *Nembroth*, and brought to nothing the frivolous enterprises of the building of his high-towring Pyramides, or Heaven-menacing Tower. *Perdam sapientiam sapientium, et prudentiam prudentium reprobabo* (1 Cor. i. 19). *I will destroy the wisdome of the wise, and reprove the providence of them that are most prudent.* The diversitie of tongues and languages, wherewith he disturbed that worke, and overthrew that proudly-raised Pile; what else is it, but this infinit altercation, and perpetuall discordance of opinions and reasons, which accompanieth and entangleth the frivolous frame of mans learning, or vaine building of humane science? Which he doth most profitably. *Who might containe us, had we but one graine of knowledge?* This Saint hath done me much pleasure: *Ipsa utilitatis occultatio, aut humilitatis exercitatio est, aut elationis attritio.* *The very concealing of the profit, is either an exercise of humilitie, or a beating downe of arrogancie.* Unto what point of presumption and insolencie, doe we not carrie our blindnessesse and foolishnesse? But to returne to my purpose: Verily there was great reason, that we should be beholding to God alone, and to the benefit of his grace, for the truth of so noble a believe, since from his liberalitie alone we receive the fruit of immortalitie, which consisteth in enjoying of eternall blessednesse. Let us ingenuously confesse, that only God and Faith, hath told it us: For, it is no lesson of Nature,

No
health
save in
revelation

nor coming from our reason. And he that shall both within and without narrowly sift, and curiously sound his being and his forces without this divine privilege; he that shall view and consider man, without flattering him, shall nor finde nor see either efficacie or facultie in him, that tasteth of any other thing but death and earth. *The more we give, the more we owe; and the more we yeeld unto God, the more Christian-like doe we.* That which the Stoike Philosophier said, he held by the casuall consent of the peoples voice; had it not beene better he had held it of God? *Cum de animorum eternitate disserimus, non leve momentum apud nos habet consensus hominum, aut timentium inferos aut colentium. Utor hac publica persuasione* (SEN. Epist. 117). *When we discourse of the immortalitie of soules in my conceit the consent of those men is of no small authority, who either feare or adore the infernall powers. This publike perswasion I make use of.* Now the weaknes of humane Arguments upon this subject, is very manifestly knowne by the fabulous circumstances they have added unto the traine of this opinion, to finde out what condition this our immortalitie was of. Let us omit the Stoickes. *Usuram nobis largiuntur, tanquam cornicibus; diu mansuros aiunt animos, semper negant* (CIC. Tusc. Qu. i.). *They grant us use of life, as is unto Ravens: they say, our soules shall long continue, but they deny they shall last ever.* Who [give] unto soules a life beyond this but finite. The most universall and received fantasie, and which endureth to this

The Pythagorean doctrine day, hath beene that whereof *Pythagoras* is made Author; not that he was the first inventor of it, but because it received much force and credit by the authoritie of his approbation; Which is, that soules at their departure from us, did but passe and roule from one to another body, from a Lyon to a Horse, from a Horse to a King, uncessantly wandring up and downe, from House to Mansion. And himselfe said, that he remembered to have beene *Æthales*, then *Euphorbus*, afterward *Hermotimus*, at last from *Pyrrhus* to have passed into *Pythagoras*: having memorie of himselfe, the space of two hundred and six yeares: some added more, that the same soules doe sometimes ascend up to heaven, and come downe againe:

*O Pater anne aliquas ad calum hinc ire putandum est
Sublimes animas, iterumque ad tarda reverti
Corpora? Quæ lucis miseris tam dira cupido?*

—VIRG. *Æn.* vi. 739.

Must we thinke (Father) some soules hence doe go,
Raized to heav'n, thence turne to bodies slow?
Whence doth so dyre desire of light on wretches
grow?

Origen makes them eternally to go and come from a good, to a bad estate. The opinion that *Varro* reporteth is, that in the revolution of foure hundred and forty yeares, they reconjoyne themselves unto their first bodies. *Chrysippus*, that that must come to passe after a certaine space of time unknowne, and not limited. *Plato* (who saith that he holds this opinion from *Pindarus*, and from ancient Poesie,) of infinite Vicissitudes of alteration, to which the soule is

Ideas of
transmi-
gration

prepared, having no paines nor rewards in the other World, but temporall, as her life in this is but temporall, concludeth in her a singular knowledge of the affaires of Heaven, of Hell, and here below, where she hath passed, repassed, and sojourned in many voyages ; a matter in his remembrance. Behold her progresse elsewhere : He that hath lived well, reconjoyneth himselfe unto that Star or Planet, to which he is assigned : Who evill, passeth into a woman : And if then he amend not himselfe, he transchangeth himselfe into a beast, of condition agreeing to his vicious customes, and shall never see an end of his Punishments, untill he returne to his naturall condition, and by vertue of reason, he have deprived himselfe of those grosse, stupide, and elementarie qualities that were in him. But I will not forget the objection, which the Epicureans make unto this transmigration from one body to another ; Which is very pleasant. They demand, what order there should be, if the throng of the dying should be greater than that of such as be borne. For, the soules removed from their abode would throng and strive together, who should get the best seat in this new case : And demand besides, what they would passe their time about, whilst they should stay, untill any other mansion were made ready for them : Or contrary-wise, if more creatures were borne than should dye ; they say, bodies should be in an ill taking, expecting the infusion of their soule, and it would come to passe, that some of them should dye, before they had ever beene living.

Plu-
tarch's
doctrine
of pur-
gatory

*Denique connubia ad veneris, partusque ferarum.
Esse animas præsto deridiculum esse videtur,
Et spectare immortales mortalia membra
Innumero numero, certareque præproperanter
Inter se, quæ prima potissimaque insinuetur.*

—LUCR. iii. 802.

Lastly, ridiculous it is, soules should be prest
To *Venus* meetings, and begetting of a beast:
That they to mortall lims immortall be address
In number numberlesse, and over-hasty strive,
Which of them first and chiefe should get in there
to live.

Others have staid the soule in the deceased
bodies, therwith to animate serpents, wormes
and other beasts, which are said to engender
from the corruption of our members, yea and
from our ashes: Others, divide it in two parts,
one mortall, another immortal: Others, make
it corporeall, and yet notwithstanding immortall:
Others, make it immortall, without any science
or knowledge. Nay there are some of ours,
who have deemed, that of condemned mens
soules divels were made: As *Plutarch* thinks,
that Gods are made of those soules which are
saved: For, there be few things that this authour
doth more resolutely averre, then this; holding
every where else an ambiguous and doubtfull
kind of speech. It is to be imagined and firmlic
believed (saith he) that the soules of men, ver-
tuous both according unto nature and divine
Justice, become of Men, Saints, and of Saints,
Demi-Gods, and after they are once perfectly,
as in sacrifices of purgation, cleansed and purified,
being deliivered from all passibility and mortalitie,

Strange
conceits
of philo-
sophy

they become of Demi-Gods (not by any civill ordinance, but in good truth, and according to manifest reason) perfect and very very Gods; receiving a most blessed and thrice glorious end. But whosoever shall see him, who is notwithstanding, one of the most sparing and moderate of that faction, so undantedly to skirmish, and will heare him relate his wonders upon this subject, him I refer to his discourse of the Moone, and of *Socrates* his Dæmon; where as evidently as in any other place, may be averred, that the mysteries of Philosophy have many strange conceits, common with those of Poesie; mans understanding losing it selfe[; if it] once goe about to sound and controule all things to the utmost ende; as tired and troubled by a long and wearisome course of our life, we returne to a kind of doting childhood. Note here the goodly and certaine instructions, which concerning our soules-subject we drawe from humane knowledge. There is no lesse rashnesse in that which shee teacheth us touching our corporall parts. Let us make choyse but of one or two examples, else should we lose our selves in this troublesome and vaste Ocean of Physicall errors. Let us know whether they agree but in this one, that is to say, of what matter men are derived and produced one from another. For, touching their first production, it is no marvel if in a thing so high and so ancient, mans wit is troubled and confounded. *Archelaus* the Physition, to whom (as *Aristoxenus* affirmeth) *Socrates* was Disciple and Minion, assevered that both men and beastes had beene made of milkie

Ideas of generation slime or mudde, expressed by the heate of the earth. *Pythagoras* saith, that our seed is the scumme or froth of our best blood, *Plato* the distilling of the marrow in the backe-bone, which hee argueth thus, because that place feeleth first the wearinesse which followeth the generative businesse.

Alcmaeon, a part of the braines-substance, which to prove, he saith, their eyes are ever most troubled, that over-intemperately addict themselves to that exercise. *Democritus*, a substance extracted from all parts of this corporall Masse. *Epicurus*, extracted from the soule and the body: *Aristotle*, an excrement drawne from the nourishment of the blood, the last scattereth it selfe in our severall members; others, blood, concocted and digested by the heate of the genitories, which they judge, because in the extreame, earnest and forced labours, many shed drops of pure blood; wherein some appearance seemeth to be, if from so infinite a confasion any likelihood may be drawne. But to bring this seed to effect, how many contrary opinions make they of it? *Aristotle* and *Democritus* hold, that women have no sperme, that it is but a sweate, which by reason of the pleasure, and frication they cast forth, and availeth nothing in generation.

Galen, and his adherents, contrariwise affirme, that there can be no generation, except two seeds meete together. Behold the Physitians, the Philosophers, the Lawyers, and the Divines pell-mell together by the eares with our women about the question and disputation how long women beare

their fruit in their wombe. And as for mee, The body
 by mine owne example I take their part, that as little
 maintaine, a woman may goe eleven months with known
 childe. The world is framed of this experience; as the
 there is no meane woman so simple, that cannot soul
 give her censure upon all these contestations,
 although we could not agree. *This is sufficient
 to verifie, that in the corporall part, man is no more
 instructed of himselfe, then in the spirituall.* We
 have proposed himselfe to himselfe, and his reason
 to his reason, to see what shee can tell us of it.
 Mee thinkes I have sufficiently declared, how
 little understanding shee hath of her selfe. And
 hee who hath no understanding of himselfe, what
 can he have understanding of? *Quasi verò men-
 suram ullius rei possit agere qui sui nesciat* (PLIN.
Nat. Hist. ii. cap. 1). *As though he could take
 measure of any thing that knowes not his owne
 measure.* Truly *Protogoras* told us prettie tales,
 when hee makes man the measure of all things,
 who never knew so much as his owne. If it be
 not he, his dignitie will never suffer any other
 creature to have this advantage over him. Now
 he being so contrary in himselfe, and one judge-
 ment so uncessantly subverting another, this favor-
 able proposition was but a jest, which induced us
 necessarily to conclude the nullity of the Com-
 passe and the Compasser. *When Thales judgeth
 the knowledge of man very hard unto man, hee
 teacheth him the knowledge of all other things to be
 impossible unto him.* You for whom I have taken
 the paines to enlarge so long a worke (against
 my custome) will not shun to maintaine your

**Folly
of self-
destruction as a
revenge**

Second, with the ordinary forme of arguing, whereof you are daily instructed, and will therein exercise both your minde and study: For this last trick of fence, must not be employed but as an extreme remedy. It is a desperate thrust, gainst which you must forsake your weapons, to force your adversary to renounce his, and a secret slight, which must seldome and very sparingly be put in practise. *It is a great fond-hardnesse to lose our selfe for the losse of another.* A man must not be willing to die to revenge himselfe, as *Gobrias* was: who being close by the eares with a Lord of *Persia*, *Darius* chanced to come in with his sword in his hand, and fearing to stricke, for feare he should hurt *Gobrias*, he called unto him, and bade him smite boldly, although he should smite through both (*JUSTIN. ii.*). I have heard, armes, and conditions of single combates being desperate, and in which he that offered them, put both himselfe and his enemy in danger of an end inevitable to both, reproved as unjust, and condemned as unlawfull. The *Portugals* tooke once certaine *Turkes* prisoners in the *Indian* seas, who impatient of their captivity, resolved with themselves (and their resolution succeeded) by rubbing of Ship-nailes one against another, and causing sparkles of fire to fall amongst the barrells of powder (which lay not far from them) with intent to consume both themselves, their masters, and the ship. *We but touch the skirts, and glance at the last closings of Sciences, wherein extremity, as well as in vertue, is vicious.* Keepe your selves in the common

path, it is not good to be so subtile, and so curious. Remember what the Italian proverbe saith, Keep to the common path

Chi troppo s' assottiglia, si scavezza.

—PETR. p. i. canz. xiii. 48.

Who makes himselfe too fine,
Doth break himselfe in fine.

I perswade you, in your opinions and discourses, as much as in your customes, and in every other thing, to use moderation and temperance, and avoide all newfangled inventions and strangenesse. All extravagant waies displease me. You, who by the authority and preheminence, which your greatnesse hath laied upon you, and more by the advantages, which the qualities that are most your owne, bestow on you, may with a nod command whom you please, should have laied this charge upon some one, that had made profession of learning, who might otherwise have disposed and enriched this fantasie. Notwithstanding here have you enough to supply your wants of it.

END OF VOL. III.

The present issue of Florio's translation of "Montaigne's Essays" has been edited by Mr. A. R. Waller, who has revised the text, and added the Marginalia, Glossary, and Notes.

I. G.

May Morning, 1897.

NOTES

Texts.—The three Folios of Florio are indicated in the Notes thus: A = 1603; B = 1613; C = 1632.
M = Montaigne.

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3. *continue one.* End of the quotation beginning "it is at all times."
5. *He that toucht but one step, etc.*: "Qui en a touché une marche," M. Marche = note on the keyboard.—*Dual.*
6. *cowardish, A*; *ocwardish, B and C.*
7. *Lucullus conceived . . . him only*: "Lucullus l'ayant prins en bonne opinion, l'employoit à quelque exploict hazardeux, par toutes les plus belles remontrances de quoy il se pouvoit adviser," M. F.'s amplification is not very clear: Lucullus urged the soldier to some (not "any") attempt, but the soldier replied as below, "Imploy," etc.
8. *his inclination, i.e., the will of the wind of accidents.*
8. *Shamefast . . . true-speaking.* In pairs in M., *i.e.*, "bashfull, insolent," etc., omitting Shamefast, peevish, fond, doting, nice, slow, humorous.
9. *may not a couragious act, i.e., a courageous act may not.*
10. *infancie, infamy.*
10. *kinde . . . species, kind . . . kind*; "espece . . . espece," M.
13. *discipline of the rod*; discipline and the rod.
14. *that some, i.e., that some other.*
18. *described, discredited, cried down*; "descrié," M.
21. *Marcus Aurelius*: "L'Horlogé des Princes, ou le Marc-Aurèle," by Antoine Guevara.
22. *I may without blushing say, that*, Concerning wimble jumping; "Du primsault," M.
24. *to make an account of drinking, but, i.e., to take no account of drinking, save.*

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90. *worthiest*, *worthiest* title.
90. No semi-colon is needed between "causeth" and "also."
91. *enterprise*, foolish enterprise.
91. *carrying care*: solitude, M.
93. No break is needed between "frame" and "It is," nor between "fathers" and "This other."
95. *supposing they sollicite*, i.e., as though they solicited.
- 95-6. *if they be once capable*, i.e., when they are capable.
96. *I spake*, I once spake.
96. After "lewdnesse and wickednesse" add "but that now he was so used to it that he could not keep himself from it."
97. *inured*, directed and inured.
99. *But such is my ill hap*: not in M.
100. No break needed between "husbandry" and "They."
100. *and hath good reason*, but hath good reason.
101. *his fathers*, his father, Mahomet's.
101. Add "yet" before "women might marry."
102. No break needed between "bed" and "I will."
- 103-4. *I have sometimes bene familiar in*, I was formerly intimate with.
104. line 21, *who*: the antecedent is the widower.
105. *by reason and*, by reason of.
107. *hers*, his own family, or one's own family; *her weapons*, his weapons, or one's weapons.
107. *familie*, A; *familier*, B; *familiar*, C.
108. *apply himselfe unto it*: attach himself unto him.—*Coste*.
110. *some . . . their husbands . . . they . . . they*. Singular in M., not plural.
113. *towards him*. The speech of the Lord of Monluc ends here.
113. *Tell me my good friend*: "O mon amy!" M. The friend is La Boétie. "His grieffe" = "Sorrowing for him."
114. *es pecially if he have children*: not in M.
116. *at this last passage . . . their will*, can gratify ("oindre," M. = grease) their wishes in the last passage.
119. *is due*, is in any way due.
120. *engendred in them*, engendered in most of them.
121. No break is needed between "selves" and "It seemes,"
130. *but standing*, but whilst standing.

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134. *in vulgare, i.e., in the vulgar tongue.*
 134. *convince, convict.*
 134. *of my Discourses, of reason.*
 134. *trie and refine them, pick them out.*
 135. *And looke how, In the same way that.*
 135. *these are matters, these are not matters; "ne sont ce point icy mati res," M.*
 136. *a skipping wit; "un esprit primasautier," M.; a mind that makes its greatest efforts at the first attempt. —Coste.*
 136. *cannot, A; can, B and C; "ne . . . pas," M.*
 136. *rid . . . apprentice intelligence, do its duty acting upon a feeble and apprentice intelligence [i.e., of the Greek tongue]: rid=despatch; his work=the work of the understanding.*
 136. *Aristotle, Ariosto.*
 137. *he reputeth, i.e., the judgment reputes, etc.—the pronoun, down to the  Esop sentence, referring to "judgment."*
 138. *had he lived, had he had leisure.*
 139. *our ancestors, the ancients.*
 139. *Before "of men of his quality" add "alone."*
 139. *the chiefe Judge of the Roman Poets, Horace.*
 139. *Author, A (=Terence); Authors, B and C.*
 144. *After "ring out their words" add "fifty times."*
 145. *Platoes Dialogismes, even Plato's Dialogues.*
 145. *thousands of things, better things.*
 145. *The two first: Plutarch and Seneca. —Coste.*
 145. *apart, A and B; a part, C.*
 145. *Omit "and" before "ad Atticum."*
 147. *After "great Brutus" add "his friend."*
 147. *confound, shuffle more rudely.*
 147-8. *Historians are my right hand, i.e., they are the pleasantest and easiest of my studies; "sont ma droite balle," M. A phrase allusive of the game of ball, in which it is usually easier to strike back with the right hand than with the left. —Coste.*
 149. *No break is needed between "judgement" and "Speaking."*
 149. *by the naked . . . better satisfied, leave to us the entire judgment for the recognition of the truth.*

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152. *except after . . . every accident*: "si, à la mode d'une information judiciaire, on ne confronte les temoigns et receoit les objects sur la preuve des ponctilles de chasque accident," M. If they do not confront witnesses, if they do not receive objections, when it is necessary to prove the least details of each fact.—
Le Clerc.
153. After "I gave of it" add "on the whole."
156. *deduction*, A; *destruction*, B and C.
159. After "that led him" add "in this extremity."
160. *absolutely*, A; *absolute*, B and C.
160. line 23, *him . . . his*. The pronouns refer to "vice."
160. *her recreation, i.e., virtue's*.
161. *cause . . . tickled, feel . . . tickled thereby*.
162. After "effeminate judgements" add "of some men."
167. *contentions*, A and B; *cotentions*, C.
167. *recta*, A and B; *necta*, C.
168. *all manner of vices*, most vices.
169. *to cast*, to pour out and cast.
169. *ult, others, i.e., other vices*.
170. No break is needed between "together" and "I doe."
170. *shun*, follow; "suys," M.
171. *without vigor or art*, little vigour and no art.
173. *fainedly*, truly; "vrayes," M.
174. After "sent to heaven" add "in a calm condition."
174. Before "strooke and wounded" add "first."
175. *he then thrust it*, he then gave himself a third thrust.
176. *with filth*, A and B; *whith f.*, C.
178. *his strength*, his strength and breath.
179. *I meane . . . worlds-framer*: not in M.
183. *made it a matter of conscience, i.e., would not*.
183. *Sebond*: born at Barcelona in the fourteenth century, professor of Medicine and Theology at Toulouse, where he died in 1432. His book was published for the first time in 1487.
187. *inspiration of God*, inspiration of Divine Grace.
187. *the holy Scriptures*, theology.
190. After "fearing lest" add "on the contrary."
193. After "we lend nothing" add "willingly."
194. *Had he but*, at least he would have.
194. *And if we often*, And yet we often.

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194. *what draws . . . desire it self*, B and C; *what envie draws . . . envy it self*, A; "*quelle envie . . . l'envie mesme*," M.
194. *draws*, A; *drawes*, B; *drawet*, C.
194. *initiated*, A and B; *iniiated*, C.
194. *perswaded him*, in the same way exhorted him.
195. *threatneth*, A and B; *threarneth*, C.
195. *Another Country*, another religion.
196. *terroure*, A; *errour*, B and C.
196. *They report*, A; *The report*, B and C.
197. line 3, *conclude*, would conclude.
197. No break is needed between "may be" and "Many."
197. *this great soules-fall*, the fall of this great soul of Plato.
198. *his doubling*: his = the bond's.
199. *unprofitable*, A; *profitable*, B and C; "*inutiles*," M.
200. *and guide*, and first guide.
201. *simple*, unable; "*ineptes*," M.
201. (*The second Objection.*) A side-note in F. Not in M.
201. *Only to her*: her = Divine Majesty.
202. *and that our reason faileth in establishing them*, that our reason fails to establish.
205. *baffle*, revile; "*baffoué*," M.
207. *she make us equall*: she = reason.
207. *his essence*: his = heavens.
208. line 3. After "*Moone*" add "*to dream of mountains and valleys there.*"
208. After "*habitations*" add "*and dwellings.*"
209. *to which . . . their parts*, carves out portions for the animals, his fellows and companions.
213. *speaking one word*. The speech ends here.
213. *that we must not acknowledge from*, that we do not recognise in.
213. *round, than a square*, square, than a round.
214. line 18, *imaginary*: not in M.
216. (*Oh silly wretched man*): not in M.
217. After "*to endure it*" add "*the face, feet, hands, legs, shoulders, head, in accordance with the habit to which we are accustomed.*"
218. *that we have added, i.e.*, now that, etc.
219. The bracket following "*for that purpose*" should be placed after "*to other service.*"

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222. *or essential, or true and essential.*
225. *supererogation, A and B; supeorgation, C.*
226. *my Master . . . serveth mee, he that keepeth and nourisheth me, who serveth me.*
226. *And such as keepe or entertaine beasts. Cf. the inscription on the collar of Beaumarchais' dog:—*
"Je suis Mlle. Follette, Beaumarchais m'appartient."—*Lucas Collins.*
226. line 29. *And if, And so.*
227. *fishing, sporting, hunting.*
227. Before "hooke and line" add "snaring hares and of."
229. *footing hitherto, footsteps to this meeting of the ways.*
233. After "to konne" add "in private."
235. *their chiefest strength, one of their greatest aids.*
238. *By which we may judge, and conclude, we may judge of that. We can also say that Elephants, etc.*
238. *may wee rightly conclude, we may not rightly conclude; "nous ne pouvons pourtant établir," M.*
238. *take that in payment, judge upon that.*
239. *and the English a Sucke-stone; an explanation of F.'s. Not, of course, in M.*
239. After "more amazed" add "not without good reason."
240. *that way, i.e., the way the wind would enter.*
241. *a wresting of the letter, i.e., a stretching of the matter.*
241. *if any matter, if any water.*
242. *encompasse her kennell, seemingly encompass, etc.*
243. *when the dead corps was removed thence, the day the body was burned.*
243. *where his master was burned, where he was burned.*
244. *jealousies, jealousies and envyings.*
246. *belonged to, was suitor to.*
247. *aire and drie, air, refresh, and dry.*
247. *into a kinde of whey, as in milk.*
247. *to bud, to germinate and bring forth.*
247. *nature of a storehouse, nature and property of a storehouse.*
249. *For Paris, etc. M. translates this quotation in his text: "toute l'Asie se perdit, et se consumma en guerres pour le macquerellage de Paris."*
249. *familiar suspect, or a jealousy, i.e., domestic jealousy.*

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250. *you have given mee.* The apology was probably addressed to Queen Margaret of Navarre, author of "The Heptameron."—*Le Clerc.*
250. *is man,* is yet man.
251. *calm'd,* A; clam'd, B and C.
251. *drove them,* i.e., the bees.
251. *retreating,* return from the combat.
252. *man who had murthered his maister,* men, etc.; *upon him,* upon them.
252. *Ganister,* A; Canister, B and C.
254. *and licke,* and kiss and lick.
257. *yea,* A; yet, B and C.
258. *pulled him out,* disengaged and pulled him out.
259. *gaping,* gaping and open.
261. *or as some call it Alcedo or Kings-fisher.* The explanation is F.'s. Not in M.
261. *Poets faine, that the Iland,* Poets indeed say that the one only Island.
261. *quiet and made calme,* stayed, and made calm and quiet.
262. After "her neast" add "for her little ones."
262. *which done,* when she hath finished this construction.
265. *description,* prescription.
266. *his arme,* his clothed arm.
273. *the humour . . . joints,* how this humour is lodged in the joints.
274. *at most as riches,* at most as beauty, riches.
275. Omit "was disobedience," and for "whose first poison" read "its first poison."
276. After "Ulysses" add "in Homer."
276. Omit "hereditarie" before "portion."
278. *in humane* (= in human) *weaknesse:* "en l'humaine foiblesse," M.; inhumaine w., A, B, and C.
278. *Democritus,* A and B; Domocritus, C.
279. *make shift with his owne:* make chickens of his eggs, M.
281. *possibly,* A and B; possible, C.
281. *those Philosophers,* the sceptics.
282. A full stop is required between "it selfe" and "who doth belie."
284. *pungit . . . valentem.* By M.'s friend, Estiennedela Boëtie.
285. After "and seemes" add "to lift us."
285. *I commend not . . . feel it.* In quotation marks in M., from Cic. *Tus. Qu.* iii. 7.

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288. *diminish*, unfurnish.
 289. *possibly*, A; *possiblie*, B; *possible*, C.
 289. *of no dutie or office*, in no office of his duty.
 291. *who very easily*: the antecedent is "a Gascoine."
 293. *of late*, in the times of our fathers.
 294. After "Roman Senatour" add "of the later ages."
 296. *emotions*, A; *motions*, B and C.
 297. *as little*, A; *a little*, B and C.
 298. *vanity*, ignorance and simplicity.
 299. Omit "too late" before "knownen."
 302. *weaknesse and ignorance*, weakness and human ignorance.
 302. *Epechistes*, A; *Epochistes*, B and C.
 303. *not to take any warrant of himself*, i.e., nor to be responsible to themselves for anything.
 303. *revenge*: "revenge," M.; "revenge, requitall, return of as good, or as much as was brought."—*Cotgrave*.
 308. *direct*, A; *detect*, B and C.
 309. *in shew and taste*, i.e., as they seem and taste.
 311. *so inextricable*, so deep and inextricable.
 312. *as there is*, i.e., that there is.
 314. *instrument at*, B and C; *wit to*, A; "engien," M.
 316. *No no . . . what it is*. In quotation marks in M.
 316. *noting*, A and B; *nothing*, C.
 319. *was it reasonable*, i.e., it was reasonable.
 326. *Age*: a misprint in M. for "air."
 329. No break is needed between "powers" and "I cannot," but a full stop is needed after "earnest" on the next line.
 330. *were it nothing*, A and B; *were is nothing*, C.
 334. After "and revenge" add "upon him."
 336. *From five to five*, i.e., every five.
 341. *this is for thee*, i.e., rules are for man.
 346. line 1. After "proveth" add "; others."
 346. *Mansiphawes*, *Nausiphawes*.
 346. No break is needed between "Generall" and "That there." A semicolon is needed between "one" and "Zeno."
 346. *God cannot dye . . . this or that*. The indiscreet and irreverent speech M. refers to just above.
 346. *his infirmities*: his = speech.
 347. *you are assured*, they are assured.
 347. *himselfe* = *Rewbarbe*.

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347. *What can I tell?* F.'s translation of M.'s famous motto, "Que sçay-ie?"—What do I know? As M. goes on to say, this sentence was often used by him attached to the device of a pair of scales.
348. *Note how . . . unhallowed speech.* M. refers back to the discussion of the question, "God cannot do this or that."—*Coste*.
350. *all one, more or less.*
350. *penult.* A full stop is needed before "because," and consequently no break is required between "charge us" and "Strato."
350. *Strato, A; State, B and C.*
351. *Piramide, A; Pyramis, B and C.*
352. *that honest woman Faustina:* said in irony.—*Duval*.
352. *a cocke-horse:* "à la chevremorte," M. He who is carried "à la chevremorte" is laid upon the back of him who carries, embracing his neck, and placing his thighs and legs round his body.—*Coste*. With heeles or belly upwards.—*Gotgrave*.
352. *as many Temples as, more Temples than.*
353. *will you not, i.e., you will not.*
354. *which is more?* An assertion, not a question.
354. *Let us raise . . . amplify,* Let us extend, raise, and amplify.
354. *swell and swell againe.* The word is repeated three times in M.
355. *Senis, A; Sina, B and C.*
355. *should heavenly pay her her wages, i.e.,* should give her a heavenly reward.
356. No break is needed between "race" and "It was."
357. *these ancient conclusions, i.e.,* those that follow.
358. *Gods never acted . . . but for man.* Cf. Pope's Essay on Man, l. v.
361. *we remember not, i.e.,* do we not remember.
361. *the Sun, the heavens and the sun.*
361. *and stone, or, with Anaxagoras of.*
362. *demonstrations? demonstrations!* An exclamation of satire.
362. Before "so much of it" add "but."
362. *hang not for their mowing, bow not to their looks, i.e.,* belong not to them.
365. After "a loose Poet" add "Timon injuriously calls him the Great Forger of Miracles."

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371. *without rub or let*, "à boulevener," M.; *i.e.*, on a sure basis without let or hindrance.
371. After "he will carrie us up" add "by them."
372. *or lovers of their own opinions*: not in M. The explanation is F.'s.
373. *agent . . . patient*, doer . . . sufferer.
374. A full stop is needed after "weaknesse."
376. *or perfection moving of it selfe*: not in M. The explanation is F.'s.
377. *upper eye-lids*, eyebrows.
378. *off-spring*, testimony; "teste," M.
380. After "fardle-up" add "sufficiently."
383. line 1. No break is needed between "examples" and "I have."
383. *by her rationall faculty*, by her faculty, reasons.
384. line 13. Omit "reconjoyning," as the sense here is "infusing," "incorporating." Lower down "reconjoyne" is used in the sense of "attached to."
387. *acknowledge*, A; knowledge, B and C.
- 387-8. *against the time*, in order that during the time; *and compelled . . . continuance*, and constrained, judgment and a condemnation of infinite and perpetual duration might be brought about.
388. *infinitie*, A; infinite, B and C.
390. *or feare of waters*: not in M. The explanation is F.'s.
392. A fresh paragraph should begin with the words "the soule loseth."
396. *framed*, crushed, beat down; "battit," M.
396. *Pyramides*, A; Pyramis, B and C.
396. *or Heaven-menacing Tower*: not in M. The explanation is F.'s.
397. *who give (i.e., the Stoics)*, A; who gives, B and C.
398. After "day" add "in divers places."
401. *if it once goe about to* (= as soon as it begins to), A; once g. a. t., B and C.
402. *soule and the body*, A; last soule and the body, B and C.
403. *although*, and yet.
403. *You for whom*. The apology was probably addressed to Queen Margaret of Navarre, author of "The Heptameron."—*Le Clerc*.

INDEX OF WORDS

In the case of words of frequent occurrence the first appearance is, as a rule, the only one given.

A = Florio, 1603; B = Florio, 1613; C = Florio, 1632; M = Montaigne.

ABUTTINGS, boundaries, 373.
 ACCOMMODABLE, suitable, 88.
 ACCORDS, peace; "Conditions of a,"
 Treaties of Peace, 347.
 ADAMANT STONE, loadstone, 374.
 ADDRESSED, directed, 11, etc.
 ADMIRALL-GALLY, flagship, 239.
 ADOE, to do, 7, etc.
 ADOING, "long a," slowly, 72.
 ADVANTAGE (used as a verb), 139.
 ADVENTURE, venture, 29.
 ADVERTIZED, informed, 42, etc.
 ÆQUINOCTIUM, Equinox, 260.
 AFEARD, afraid, 352.
 AFFECTED, pretended, 312.
 AFFECTED TO, inclined towards, 136.
 AFFECTION, influence (used in an
 astrological sense), 206.
 AFFIANCE, trust, 190.
 ALEAGED, quoted, 38, 62.
 AL FOURE, all fours, on hands and
 knees, 225.
 ALLOW, approve, 12, 271, 362.
 ALL TO RENT, torn piecemeal, 28.
 ALONGST, by the side of, 129, 224.
 ALOOF-OFF, at a distance, 253.
 AMITY, friendship, 92.
 AMMUSE, consider, 83, etc.
 AMUSING, diverting, beguiling, 52,
 80.
 APPARENCE, appearance, show, 2, etc.
 APPAY, pay, satisfy, 53, 312, 337.
 APPREHEND, comprehend, 349.
 ARGOS-EIED, observant (Argus was
 said to have 100 eyes), 378.
 ARRESTED, stopped, 48.

ARUSPICES, foretelling future things
 by an examination of the entrails
 of sacrificed animals, 306.
 ASSAYED, tried, 39, etc.
 ASSEVERED, positively affirmed, 401.
 ASTONIETH, stuns, 15.
 ASTONISH, stun, stupefy, 26, etc.
 ASTROLABE, an instrument for taking
 heavenly altitudes at sea, 355.
 AT ALL ADVENTURES, at all costs,
 194.
 AT ALL ASSAYES, at all points, in
 every way, 9, 46, 130.
 ATARAXIE, freedom from passion, 303.
 AUCTORITIE, authority, 19, 26, 94.
 AWFULL, reverential, 180, 185.
 BABION, baboon, 181.
 BABLES, toys, 95.
 BAITED, incited to fight, 254.
 BAKE, back, 50.
 BALLANCES, scales, 348.
 BANDELS, swaddling-clothes, 360.
 BANDIE, toss to and fro, a tennis
 term, 26, 164.
 BARDS, breast armour of a war-horse,
 132.
 BARE, mere, 151.
 BEARETH, "our condition b.," such
 is our c., 284, 367.
 BEAVERS, a drinking or luncheon be-
 tween meals, 21.
 BEHOVEFULL, needful, 215.
 BELYE, contradict, 55.
 BESCRIBED, scribbled, 152.
 BEWRAY, betray, 59.

- BIASE, BYASE, inclination, tendency, a term in bowls, 4, 301, 380.
 BLABBERED, swollen, 265.
 BLANCKE, the white mark in the centre of a target, 394.
 BLAZONED, disgraced, 356.
 BOB, fillip, 134.
 BOOTLESSE, fruitlessly, 38.
 BOTCHT, clumsily patched, 366.
 BOWNDING, "high b.," high, 357.
 BRABLES, quarrels, disputes, 15.
 BRAGGES, boastings, 28.
 BRAWLETH, wrangles, 107.
 BRAWLING BRAVES, blustering attacks, 189.
 BROODING, breeding, 261.
 BUDGE, stir, 243.
 BUG-BEARES, spectres, 107.
 BUMBASTED VERDUGALS, padded farthingales, early forms of the crinoline, 365.
 BY LIFE, from life, 69.
 BY ONE OF HIS WOUNDS, through one, etc., 43.
 CABINS, dwellings, nests, 214.
 CADENCE, falling of the voice at the end of a sentence, 147; sinking, 233; rhythm, 315; modulation, 366.
 CALIVER, musket, gun, 41.
 CALTHROPS, military implements used to prevent an advance of cavalry, made of four iron spikes joined at their bases, so placed that when thrown down one spike always pointed upward, 129.
 CANVASING, discussing, 346.
 CAPRINGS, dances, 233.
 CARRIER, career (originally, running a charge, a tournament term), 269.
 CARKE, trouble, anxiety, 107, 226.
 CASKE, headpiece, 127, 130.
 CATES, delicacies, dainties, 330, 335.
 CATHEDRALL MASTER, judge, moderator, 31.
 CENSURE, sentence, 139.
 CHAFETH, blames, falls out with (*s'en prendre à soy*, M.), 137; frets, 107, 108.
 CHANGE COPPY, quite another thing, 8.
 CHARGE, attempt, 135, 144; expense, 33, etc.; office, employment, 1, etc.
 CHARGED, burdened, 128, 139, 350.
 CHARILY, carefully, 107.
 CHEAPE, "better c.," cheaper, 20, 226.
 CHECKE, "neerely c.," closely observe, 236.
 CHIMERAES, wild schemes, 83.
 CIRCUMPASSING, encircling, 324.
 CLAWING, scratching, 163.
 CLEANE, quite, absolutely, 195.
 CLIMATES, regions, 367.
 CLOKE, hide, cover up, 320.
 CLOSE BY THE EARS, in close combat, 404.
 CLOSELY, tacitly, 381.
 CLOSES, in Music, the end of a passage, 234.
 COAPE, covering, arch, 208, 222.
 COAT, "others of his c.," similar people, 184.
 COCKRING-KIND, pampering, 217.
 COILE, confusion, 327.
 COLEWORT, cabbage, 14.
 COLOURABLE, specious, 109, etc.
 COMMIXT, mixed, 43, 73, 169.
 COMMODITIES, advantages, 19, etc.
 COMPACT, combine, 351.
 COMPLEXION, nature, 19, etc.
 COMPLIT, conspiracy, 16, 57.
 COMPOSITION, terms, 6, 44, 286.
 COMPOSITIONS, writings, 18, etc.
 CONCEIPT, fantasy, 274.
 CONCEIT, belief, thought, idea, 7, etc.; imagine (used as a verb), 310, etc.
 CONCEIVE, promise or guarantee (*pleuvis*, M.), 133.
 CONCENTRIQUES, bodies having the same centre, 365.
 CONCUSPISCIBLE, having the desire of the eyes, 303.
 CONFIRME, affirm, establish, 306.
 CONJOYNING, conjunction, 205, etc.
 CONNEXITIE, connection, 170.
 CONSCIENCE, "I make a c.," I am troubled, 56.
 CONSEQUENCE, inference, 12; "by c.," consequently, 3, 309.
 CONTAIN, keep, hold, 32.
 CONTENTION, "enter into c. of," exchange, 194.
 CONTESTATIONS, disputes, 31.
 CONVENIENT, proper, suitable, 33, 89.
 CONVERSATION, community, 297.
 COPESMATE, partner, associate, 341.
 CORDAGES, ropes, 365.

CORNISH, the Welch, or Irish (*Basques et les Troglodytes*, M. Basques, a Pyrenean race whose language is separate from the European groups; Troglodytes, a Greek name for uncivilised cave-dwellers), 210.

COULTS, colts, 344.

COUNTENANCE, "in c.," outwardly, 197.

COUNTERBUFFE, rude blow, 128.

COUNTERPEIZING (counterposing, A), weighing, putting into the balance, 270.

COUNTERPOISON, antidote, 61.

COVETISE, avarice, covetousness, 96.

COZEN, delude, cheat, 107, 111.

CRANKES, devious ways, 80.

CRAZED, broken down, 25, etc.

CUNNIE, rabbit, 287.

CUNNY-CATCHING, deceiving (cunny = rabbit), 111.

CURIOSLY, carefully, 11, etc.

CURRANT PAYMENT, authentic, 371.

DÆMON, spirit, 401.

DAINING, deigning, 321.

DAMNIFIDE, injured, deprived of life, 248.

DEBONAIRE, pleasing, 8.

DEFEAT, dispatch, 228.

DEFFAILANCE, faintness, languor, 74.

DEFLUXION, a discharge of humours, 281.

DEMISED, conveyanced, let, 362.

DEMISSE, cowardly, humble, 10, etc.

DENT, indentation, 369.

DEPAINTED, painted, 364.

DESPIGHT, spite, 212.

DESTROYERS (*boutefeux*, M.), fire-brands, those who wilfully set on fire, 33.

DEVOIRS, duties, 313.

DIAPRED, diversified, 363.

DISCOURSE, judgment, reason, 3, etc.

DISLIKE, displease, 327.

DISPOILE, strip, 263.

DISTEMPERED, disordered, 20, 24, 283.

DITTAMY, *Origanum Dictamnus*, a plant allied to the English marjoram, 228.

DIVELS, devils, 400.

DIZZIED, confused, 233.

DOUBT, "make a d.," question, 161, 372.

DOWNE-STEEPLY, precipitous, 43.

DRIFT, aim, purpose, 3, 186, 304.

DUMPISH RETRACTING, quiet retiring, 233.

EFFECT, "by e.," "in e.," in reality, 69, etc.

ELEVATES, lightens, 14.

EMBOST, hard hunted, 178.

EMPAIRING, growing worse, 19, etc.

EMPEACHED, hindered, 66, 169.

ENCREASE, growing (*creu*, M.), 134.

ENDEARE, value at a higher rate, enrich, 70, etc.

ENGAGED, gave up, pledged, 46.

ENGENDRED, made, begotten, 96, etc.

ENGIVED, fettered, 128.

ENHONNY, entice by sweet means, 330.

ENLARGE, release, 75.

ENQUEST, search, 140.

ENS ENTUM, being of beings, 322.

ENSTALL, display (*estalent*, M.), 150.

ENSUE YOU, come to you, 281.

ENTERCHAINED, mix or cling together, 170.

ENTER-HINDER, mutually h., 21.

ENTERLUDES, entertainments performed between the courses of a banquet, 335.

ENTERPRIZE, attempt, expedition, 5, etc.

ENTER-SHEW, mutually show, 254.

ENTERTAIN, converse with, 58; mix, 170.

ENTRE, mutually, 48, 66.

ENTREATIE, entreating, treatment, 74, 226.

ENURE, accustom, 22, etc.

EPICRANIUM, the covering of the skull, 377.

EPICYCLES; in Ptolemaic astronomy the name given to small circles whose centres described larger circles, 365.

EQUALITY, comparison, 350.

ERST, formerly, 275.

ESSAYES, trials, attempts, 63, etc.

ESTATE, state, 5, etc.

ESTRIDGES, ostriches, 268.

EXCENTRIQUES, bodies not having the same centres, 365.

EXERCITATION, exercising, 375.
 EXQUISIT SUFFICIENCIE, showy cleverness, 155.
 EXTIRP, eradicate, 286.

FACILE, easy, 165.
 FAINE, forced, 152, 337; desire, 279; feign, pourtray, 75, etc.
 FALLING-EVILL, falling sickness, fainting, 73.

FAMILIARS, friends, 180.
 FANTASTIQUE, write fantastically, 30.

FARDLE-UP, tie up in a faggot or bundle, 380.

FAULKNERS, falconers, 227.

FEBRICANT, FEBRICITANT, feverish, 281, 119.

FENEL, *Feniculum*, an aromatic plant, 228.

FIERCENES, haughtiness, pride, 27, etc.

FITTES, "at f," intermittently, 136.

FIXLY, fixedly, 362.

FLAPS, parts, patches, 12.

FLEAD, flayed, 61, 128.

FLEAGME, cold, 276.

FLEET (used as a verb), 4.

FLESH, invigorate, urge, 28, 88.

FLIM FLAM, lying, 79.

FOLLIE, madness, 283.

FOND, foolish, 8, etc.

FOND-HARDY, foolhardy, 137, 138, 404.

FONDLY, lovingly, 127.

FOOLERIES, foolishness, 380.

FORE-PAST, foregone, 286, 287.

FORGING, inventing, making, 109, etc.

FOR-GOE, lose, 122.

FORME, fashion, rank, 141.

FOR OUR SELVES, of our selves, 34.

FORWARDNES, direction in the path, 92.

FOULTER, falter, stumble, 103.

FROES, frau's (wife's), 265.

FRONT, confute, 201.

FUSTIAN, mouldy, 369.

GAGED, wagered, 355.

GAINE-SAID, contradicted, 109, etc.

GENUITIE, nature, tendency, 223.

GESTS, deeds, acts, 82.

GHESSSED, guessed, 59.

GIBRISH, rubbish, 369, 379.

GIRDS, stings, 140.

GLADDING, pleasing, 335.

GLAIVES, swords, 359.

GLISTERS, clysters, injections, 228.

GLORIOUS, pompous, 247.

GLORIOUSLY, proudly, 115.

GLORY, vanity, 82.

GLOSSE, comment, 137, 294.

GOOD LAND, income, 114.

GORGEOUS, beautiful, lovable (*gor-giases*, M.), 126.

GOURMANDIZE, triumph over, 172.

GRIVE, grieve, 9.

GROSE, "in g," in the main, 11, etc.

GROSEST, roughest, 214, 282.

GUILTIE-CAUTERIZED, seared as though with hot metal, and consequently insensible, 63.

HAB OR NAB, at all events, 70.

HALED, dragged, 231, 383.

HAP, condition, 331.

HARDLY, barely, 2, 110, 131.

HEALTH, good condition, plumpness of form (*embonpoint*, M.), 338.

HEAVIE-PASED, lumbering, 136.

HEDGE-HARLOT, prostitute, 17.

HERB-WIFE, flower-girl, 245.

HEW, hue, 11, 271.

HIE, arise quickly, 265.

HIS, popular, though false, form of the genitive, 230, 325, 355, 401.

HOC, a word used in the consecration of the Host, 347.

HOC AGE, the reply of the priest to the sacrificer, which recalled the wandering attention of the assembly, 144.

HODGE-POT, medley, 151.

HOLD-FAST ON, grasp of, 189, etc.

HOLME-TREE, holly-tree, 35.

HONESTY, honour, 91.

HOWERS, hours, 272.

HO-YES, Oyez! hear ye! 144.

HOYSING, hoisting, 383.

HUDDLE, bring together (not necessarily in a confused manner), 151, 326, 380.

HULLING, tossed helplessly to and fro, 4.

HURLY-BURLY, clamour, 249, 263, 327.

HURRED AND HALED, jolted and pulled about, 77.

HUSBANDS, economisers, managers, 12, 67.
 HYNÉ-BOY, peasant boy, 18.

ICHNEUMON, an Egyptian quadruped famed for destroying reptiles, 219.
 IMMURE, wall, fortify, 129.
 IMPREASE, "an *imprese* is a device in picture with his motto or word borne by noble or learned person-ages" (*Camden*), 11, 348.

IMPUISSANCE, feebleness, 103, 107.
 IMPULSION, impulse, 76.
 IMPUTATIONS, faults, 62.
 INCITATIONS, incitements, 54.
 INCONVENIENCE, accident, 391.
 IN FINE, in the end, 405.
 INGRESSE OR EGRESSE, entrance or departure, 323.

INHIBITED, forbade, 48, 83, 196.
 INJURIE, injure, 194.
 INLY, inwardly, 15.
 INNED, incorporated, 55.
 IN RESPECT OF, IN REGARD OF, in comparison with, 69, 147, 313.

INSIPIDITIE, weakness, 27.
 INSTANTLY, strongly, 100.
 IN STEED, instead, 225.
 INSTITUTES, undertakes the rôle of, 319.

INSTITUTION, education, 88, etc.
 IN SUITE, to law, 289.
 INTENT, intention, 5, etc.
 INTERESSED, concerned, 111.
 INVECTIVE, aggressive, encroaching, 189.

INVENTION, declaration, enunciation, 372.
 INWARD, intimate, 46.

JOLLY-QUAINT, gallant, 21.
 JOYNTER, jointure, settlement, 115.
 JOYNTLIE, unitedly, 202.
 JUBETING, hooting, 173.
 JUGLERS, tumblers, players, 230, 231.

JUGLING, cheating, 107.
 JUMPE, "j. to speak truth," in truth agree with this, alight upon it (*rencontreroit plus souvent à dire vray*, M.), 3; agree with, 142.

KEY OF THE FIELDS, power, 32.
 KON HIM THANKS, owe him thanks, 55.
 KONNE, learn, 233.

LARGESSE, liberal distribution, 87.
 LAW, liberty, 114.
 LEADEN-PATED, thick-skulled, 117.
 LEASINGS, falsehoods (*fadess*, M.), 369.

LEFT, LEAVE, ceased, cease, 158, etc.
 LET, hindrance, 1, 160.
 LEWD, sad, 37.
 LIBELS, writs, 293.
 LICENCE, release, 53.
 LIGHT, fall into, 74.
 LIST, wished, 51, etc.
 LIVELY, notable, perfect, 1; vivid, 35, 72, 78.

LONG OF, because of, 64, etc.
 LONGS, belongs, 27.
 LOURDANS, "a sot, dunce, dullard, grotnoll, jobernoll, blockhead; a lowt, lob, lusk, boare, clown, churle, clusterfist; a proud, ignorant, and unmannerly swaine" (*Cotgrave*), 141.

LOW-LOWTING, servile, 237.
 LOWTING, bowing, 233.
 LUMPISH, heavy, 199.
 LUST, vigour, 69.

MADDED, maddened, 207.
 MALAPERTNESSE, effrontery, 185.
 MAMMOCKS, pieces, portions, 52, 259.
 MAQUORELAGE, bawdiness, 86; seduction, 355.

MARBLE-SOUNDS, shining seas, 250.
 MARRE, spoil, 79.
 MARRISH, marshy, 379.
 MASSIE, massive, 36, 131, 369.
 MASTIVE, mastiff, 389.
 MEACOCKE, effeminate fellow, poltroon, 7.

MEANE, middle, 210, 360.
 MECHANICALL, labouring, 151.
 MEDIANE, vein in the fore-arm, 33.
 MEED, reward, 227.
 MEERE, completely, purely, 10, etc.
 MEERELY, joyously, cheerfully, 118.
 MERLINS, fatherless children, 356.
 MILT, spleen, 368.
 MINION, favourite, 401.

MISCARIE, "make it m.," wound it (*affoler*, M.), 339.

MOODILY, peevishly, 239.

MORIONS, steel helmets without visors, used by foot-soldiers, 130.

MORTALL, deadly, fatal, 50, etc.

MOTES, particles, 379.

MOTION, emotion, 161, 162; movements, 11.

MOULDRED, broken, 52.

MOVED, angry, nettled, 138.

MULETIER, mule-driver, 280, 282.

MUMMERIES, dumb shows, 335.

MUNGRELL, mongrel, 343.

MURED, walled up, 28.

MUST, unfermented grape juice, 15.

NACRE, "a Naker; a great, and long shell-fish, the outside of whose shell is rugged, and browne of colour, the inside smooth, and of a shining hue; the forme (broad at the one end, and narrow at the other) somewhat like a Smithes bellows; (it is but sel-dome, or never found on our coast)" (*Cotgrave*), 259.

NAMELY, especially, 22, etc.

NEATHER, under, 266.

NEW-FANGLED, taking hold of things in a new way, 140, etc.

NEWLY, recently, 48.

NICE, dainty, scrupulous, fastidious, 8, etc.

NICKE, stroke of time, 67.

NUNCHIONS, luncheons, 21.

OBEYSANCE, obedience, 203.

OFFEND, attack, 129.

OF, "depend o.," d. upon, 188.

OF FORCE, sufficiently robust, 330.

OFF-SPRING, "mortall o.," earthly origin, 229.

OF THE LIGHT, but the light, 72.

ONELY, sole, 134, 253, 389; alone, 61.

OPINIONATE (used as a verb), obstinate, 2, 40, 136.

OPPUGNE, fight against, 344.

ORIGINALL, origin, 375.

ORIGON, *Origannum*, the name of the genus of plants to which the marjoram belongs, 228.

OTHERSOME, others, 66, 266, 368.

OUGHT, owed, 300.

OUT GONE, "he hath o. g.," he hath freed himself from, 342.

OUT-LOPES, leaps out, 141.

OVERPAID, too much exalted, 272.

OVER-WEENING, arrogancy, 295, 349, 396.

PAILLARDISE, lewdness, 21.

PARBOYLED, boiled, 175.

PARENTS, relations, 42.

PARITY, equality, 210.

PARLY, discuss, 238.

PART, depart, 364.

PARTIES, opponents, 200.

PARTS, commodities, 102; qualities, 108.

PASE, step, 250.

PASSE AND REPASSE, a juggling term, 312.

PASSIBILITY, capacity to endure, 400.

PEECES, helmets, 131.

PELL-MELL, in a confused manner, 402.

PERFLABLE, allowing air to pass through, 326.

PEROKITORS, parrots, 95.

PERSWADE, advised, 381, 405; confront, 160.

PETIE, little, 22.

PHILOSOPHATE, discuss, 30.

PHILOSOPHICALL, physical, 331.

PHILOSOPHIE, philosophise, 26.

PIERSANT, sharp, pointed, 364.

PINNOTERE, "a little Shel-fish, of the kind of Shrimpes" (*Cotgrave*), 259.

PIOTS, magpies, 230, 233.

PITCH, standing, 14; aim, 141.

PITHILY, "p. continued," ably or well maintained, 55.

PITHY, strong, substantial, 136, 143, 144.

PLACE, rank, 42.

PLAINE, complain, 73, 215.

PLA'ST, placed, 323.

PLENARY, full and complete, 110.

PLODDING, jogging, 135; labouring, 136, 142.

PLOT OR FORME, plan, scheme, 11.

PLUM, stout, 266.

PLUNGES, "put to his p.," placed in difficulty, 273.

PODAGREES, gouty feet, 33.

POINT OF THE EFFECTS, in the midst of the business, 66.

POISETH, lays weight, 14.
 POLICED AND FORMALEST, governed and regulated, 19.
 POLIPODIE, *Polypodium*, a genus of ferns to which the oak-fern belongs, 228.
 POMMADA, "to make the p," to walk on the hands, 22.
 POSITIONS, dogmas, 169.
 POSSIBLE, possibly, 49.
 POURCONTRELL, OR MANIEFEET, *polypus*, octopus, 240.
 PRANKED-UP, dressed up, 122.
 PRANKES, tricks, 29, 246.
 PREASE, crowd, press, 43, 135.
 PRESENTLY, immediately, 78, etc.
 PREVAILE, "wherewith he most goeth about to p.," in which he best works, 153; make use of, 348.
 PREVENT, anticipate, 281.
 PRICE, pre-eminence, 90.
 PRICKE AND PRAISE, "give p. and p.," give the palm, 54.
 PRICKED, spurred, excited, 140.
 PRIE, look, 267.
 PRIME, springtime of life, 69, 171.
 PRIVATION, deprivation, 37-8, 284, 371.
 PROCESSES, law cases, trials, 346.
 PROPER, natural, 110.
 PROPORTION HIS ORDINARIE, regulate his practice, 20.
 PROPORTIONS, analogies, 320.
 PROPRIETIES, properties, 344.
 PROWES, prowess, 7.
 PUBLIKE DESIGNE, vulgar design, 134.
 PULING, moaning, 217.
 PURRES, soft murmurs, 221.
 QUAIN, strange, far-fetched, 362.
 QUAINNESSE, elegance, 138, 139, 282.
 QUEST, search, 158, etc.
 QUICKE, live flesh, 52, 176.
 QUICKEN, rouse, 35.
 QUICKEST, most vivid, 283.
 QUIDITIES, subtleties, 144.
 QUIP, jest, jeer, 129, 140, 157.
 QUIT, rid, 373.
 QUITTED, acquitted, 61.
 RAMD, closed, 28.
 RAMPARDS, ramparts, palisades, 130.

RANGE, arrange, 2, etc.
 RATED, reprimanded, 7.
 RATTLES, toys, 217.
 RE-ADVISE THEMSELVES, look about them, 166.
 RECHLESNES, negligence, 56.
 RECOMPENCE, compensate, 338.
 RECONJOYNETH, rejoins, 399.
 RECOVER, cure, 6; get, 234.
 RECOYLINGS, retreats, 155.
 REFRAINED, having left, 179.
 REGENTS, rulers, teachers, 137, 294.
 REGIMENT, regimen, 242, 281, 383.
 REGORGE, cast back, 189.
 REMISSE, languid, 99, 146.
 REMOVE, move, 8.
 RENTS, income, 100.
 REPERTABLE, reprehensible, 82.
 REPRISINGS, "reiterated r.," repeated looks, 136.
 RESOLVE, solve, 31.
 RETIRING, calling back, 50.
 RHUME, cold, 24, 106.
 RISIBLE, capable of laughter, 344.
 ROUND, compass, orb, 385.
 ROUNDLY, plentifully, 18; firmly, 53; thoroughly, 55; openly, 281.
 ROUT, herd, rabble, 268.
 ROWLING, rolling, 204, 211, 250.
 RUDEST, coarsest, 282, 378.
 RUTH, pity, 176, 255.
 SATURNALLY, gloomily, 378.
 SCANTLIN, portion, pittance, 320.
 SCAPE, escape, 224, 255.
 SCELETOS, dried or parched mummy, lean person, 82.
 SCIENCE, knowledge, 201.
 SCOPE, end, 334.
 SCOWRED, purges, 347.
 SEARCH, sieve, strainer, 349.
 SEEKE, "to s.," at a loss, 134.
 SEELD, seldom, 255.
 SEELE, blind (originally a term in falconry), 26.
 SEELY, simple, foolish, 9, etc.
 SEMBLABLE, similar, 89, 195, 207.
 SENCE, feeling, 52, 325.
 SENSIBLE, painful, 78.
 SENTING, scenting, 229, 264.
 SEPULCHRES, obsequies, buryings, 328.
 SEVERALL, separate, 154, etc.

- SEXTAINE, sacristan, keeper of the temple, 355.
 SHAMEFAST, modest, 8.
 SHARPE, "at the s.," in good earnest, 159.
 SHIFT, attend to wants, hunt, 216, etc.; change clothing, 102; change over, 78; movements, 233.
 SIDELING, sideways, 379.
 SIMBOLIZE, compare, 237.
 SIMPLES, herbs, 228.
 SINGLE COMBAT, tournaments, lists (*camp clos*, M.), 9.
 SINNOW, sinew, 96, 137, 147.
 SITH, since, 12.
 SITH-BEARING, scythe-carrying, 76.
 SITHENCE, since, 2, etc.
 SKOFFE, "breed a s.," sneer, 103.
 SKONCE, fortress, 129.
 SLEDGE, mallet, 22, 28.
 SNIPPERS, pincers, 28.
 SOCIETIE, comradeship, 259.
 SODAINE, sudden, 136, etc.
 SODDEN, boiled or soaked, 130.
 SOLEMNE, sumptuous, 169.
 SOLSTITIUM, solstice, 260, 261.
 SOOTHINGLY ENTERTAINING, making sport of, 108.
 SORT, reconcile, 307.
 SORTED, suitable, 202.
 SOTTISHNESSE, foolishness, 83, 283.
 SOULTRING, sultry, 281.
 SOWRE, rancid, 247.
 SOW'ST, soured, 17.
 SPAGNIOLIZED, AND PETRARCHISTICAL, after the models of Petrarch and Spanish writers, 140.
 SPIGHT, "new s.," sudden anger, 7; "in s.," in spite of, 92; anger, 249, 283.
 SPRIGHT, spirit, 7, 78, 290.
 SPYNE, thin, 266.
 SQUARE, agree, adapt, 143, etc.
 SQUAT, hide, 35.
 STARTING, sudden action out of the ordinary course, 30.
 STATUARY, sculptor, 126.
 STAVES, sticks, 22.
 STAY, regularity, 168; await, 399.
 STEAD, serve, 274, 286, 301.
 STERAGE, helm, rudder, 27.
 STERNS, rudders, 206, 258.
 STILL, ever, 139.
 STOCCADO, sword-thrust, 297.
 STOCCKE, log, 71.
 STORE, abundance, 151, etc.
 STORIE, history, 43, 194.
 STRAGLE, wander, 334.
 STREEKE, strike, 28.
 STRONDE, sand, mud, 228.
 SUBORNE, bribe, 110.
 SUCSESSE, result, 152.
 SUFFERANCES, sufferings, 69, 123, 240.
 SUFFICIENT, able, 12, etc.
 SUPLE, grease, anoint (*graisser*, M.), 314.
 SUPPLY, "in s.," plentifully, 140.
 SUPPRESSE, overthrow, subdue, 84, etc.
 SURCEASING, giving up, 307.
 SURCHARGED, overburdened, 25, etc.
 SUTE, lawsuit, 9.
 SWAINE, country lad, 18, 281.
 SWAYING, ruling, 319.
 SWOUNE, swoon, 26, 71.
 TEMPORIZED, deferred, 56.
 TENNONS, joinings, 373.
 THEN, than, 386.
 THIRLING, hurling, darting, 112, 228.
 THOROW, through, 40, etc.
 THOROWLY and THOROUGHLY, thoroughly, 13, etc.
 THROWS, throes, 216.
 TIFPLE-SQUARE, drink excessively, 16.
 TOSPOD, drunken, 16.
 TRACE, track, 30.
 TRAINE, result, 79; route, 355.
 TRANSHANGETH, changes, 399.
 TRAVELL, travail, labour, 66, 69.
 TRUNK SLEEVES, wide sleeves, 365.
 TRUSSETH UP, fastens up, 109.
 UNDANTED, undaunted, 103, etc.
 UNFAINED, sincere, 106.
 UNFEATHER, reveal, 134.
 UNHANTED, solitary, 255.
 UNVALUABLE, invaluable, 55, 111.
 VACATIONS, vocations, 213, 358, 366.
 VAILE, sheath, case, outward man, 28.
 VANTGARD, vanguard, 258.
 VAUNTED, VANTED, boasted, 108, etc.
 VENERIAN, lustful, 101, 269.
 VERTUOUS, courageous, 101.

VIZARDS, vizors, masks, 381.
 VOLUPTUOUSNES, pleasure, 20, 160, 162.
 WAINE, car, 364.
 WALLOWETH, rolls, 219.
 WALLOWISH, flat, insipid, 145, 201, 284.
 WARD, defend, 41.
 WARDS, secret springs, faculties, 13, etc.
 WARRANT, assert, 345; secure, guarantee, 43, etc.
 WEAKE, weaken, 26.
 WEALD, govern, 104.
 WELL SEENE, well skilled, 362.
 WHILOM, formerly, 28, 239, 329.
 WHIT, "no w.," in no way, 47, 350; "any w.," any way, 299.
 WILIE, enticing, 318.

WILLED, ordered, 254.
 WILL-ON, will go, 7.
 WISHLY, earnestly, 254.
 WIT, mind, 140, etc.
 WITTIE, learned, 144.
 WITTILY, ingeniously, 249.
 WITTING - EARNESTLY, purposely, knowingly, 66.
 WITTINGLY, knowingly, 25.
 WORKY-DAY, working-day, 141.
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 WRACKE, ruin, 40, 108.
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